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NEW TIMES

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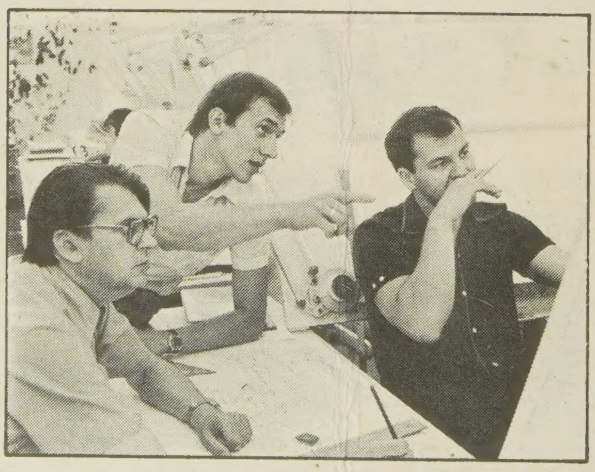
THE AMERICAN DREAM

From the top of the hill crowned by the octagonal Gediminas tower—named after the legendary founder of the city—a picturesque view opens on Vilnius, the capital of Soviet Lithuania. For more than 650 years the city has stood at the confluence of the Neris and Vilnia (Vileika) rivers.

Hundreds of thousands of Soviet and foreign tourists come here to see the city's architectural monuments, museums and picture galleries. Practically the whole central part of Vilnius is a museum zone of narrow, winding streets and towering Gothic cathedrals, while the red tile roofs of the old buildings present a striking contrast to the white panelling of modern structures.

Looking at the Vilnius of today it is hard to imagine that in July 1944, when the Soviet Army, having sent the nazis reeling back, entered the city, more than 40 per cent of its buildings had been reduced to ruins and of the 180 architectural monuments of the old city 80 had been wrecked.



Harmony between man and nature may well be said to have been the motto of the builders of the new residential sections of Vilnius—Seskine and Lazdynai. Merging with the woodland and green hills of their setting, the new neighbourhoods offer a notable instance of a quest for harmony between architecture and nature.

A new section of Vilnius ● Antokolsky Street in the old part of the city ● At the Vilnius Town Planning Institute ● Outdoor cafés are a summer feature of the Lithuanian capital.

TASS photos

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

FOR A MEANINGFUL SUMMIT

At the Soviet-American summit in Geneva last autumn it was agreed that there should be another top-level meeting. But time is passing and the question still remains open. This is disquieting to many. And understandably. In our nuclear age a special responsibility devolves upon the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. After all, nothing more nor less than the survival of mankind is at stake.

The initial dialogue in Geneva gave rise to definite and not unfounded hopes for changes for the better in Soviet-American relations and, consequently, for an improvement in the world climate as a whole. Some people sincerely believe that a new meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and the U.S. President would in itself be a step towards the desired goal. This line of reasoning on the part of the uninitiated in politics is traceable to the Western propaganda media and the lavish, bombastic assurances given by American political leaders of their desire for peace, their readiness for a high-level dialogue. But their actions present a glaring contrast to their rhetoric. The U.S. Administration is sabotaging disarmament talks and releasing the last brakes on the nuclear race -- the SALT-2 treaty and other bilateral agreements. There is a great deal indeed in Washington's behaviour that is incompatible with political morality, that heightens tension in the world and in Soviet-American relations in particular, and makes for growing distrust between the two countries.

The holding of a new Soviet-American summit meeting in these circumstances would only mean allowing the American side to use it as a smokescreen to cover up the arms buildup, the material preparation of war. We do not propose to become Washington's partner in such deception of world opinion. Mikhail Gorbachev made this clear in his speech in Warsaw.

The Soviet Union is for dialogue. But it must be a dialogue in which both sides seek to achieve tangible results. That is how the question was put at the 27th Congress of the CPSU. And it was examined on this plane at the Budapest meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee and at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. We are for a dialogue with Washington, it was stressed at the Plenum. We are not slamming any doors: a new meeting with the U.S. President is perfectly possible. But it must proceed in an atmosphere that would open the way to real agreements.

Moscow is determined not to disappoint the hopes of the peoples, who are looking to the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States for practical actions to safeguard peace.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

I read your article "Problem-Ridden Africa" (No 22, 1986) by Anatoly Gromyko, and was horrified by the accompanying photograph of a black woman holding a dying infant in her arms. I am 33, an office worker. I have an eight-year-old son. He goes to school, he is healthy and happy. Please tell me where I can send money to help this woman and other mothers like her who are unable to give their children enough to eat, I simply must do something to help them.

V. KONYUSHA
Poltava Region, U.S.S.R.

From the editors: Dear Valentina Borisovna, you may send your contribution to the Peace Fund which is also used to help the victims of imperialist aggression, apartheid and genocide, and also people suffering from natural calamities.

The sincere striving of the Soviet Union for peace has been demonstrated once again with still greater force in connection with the Chernobyl tragedy. In his TV speech Mikhail Gorbachev announced the prolongation of the moratorium on nuclear tests in your country and proposed establishing an international regime for the safe development of nuclear power. This move is a concrete manifestation of your peace policy.

Victor PURON
Guantanamo, Cuba

The aggression against Libya, support for the contras in Nicaragua, the counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan, the racists in South Africa—all this is not enough for the U.S. ruling circles. Nuclear devices continue to be exploded in Nevada, and before long a new deadly weapon will de deployed in outer space. All honest men and women of our planet must join forces to prevent another world war.

Nikolai VINOKUROV
Perm, U.S.S.R.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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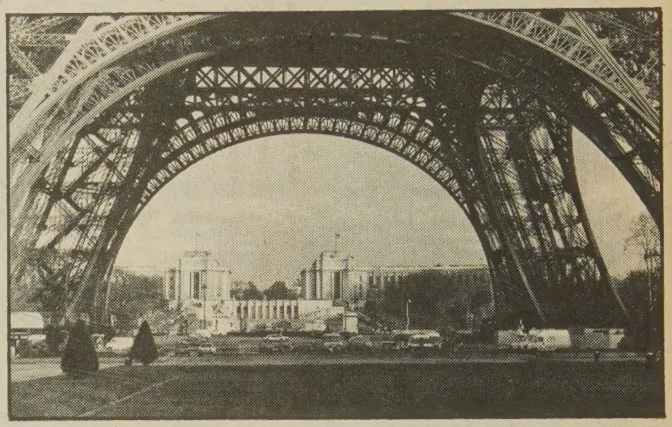
COVER by A. Garanin

TO GET TO KNOW EACH OTHER BETTER



What is Paris' view of the development of relations with Moscow? What hopes are associated there with President François Mitterrand's forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union? What part does Franco-Soviet political dialogue play in East-West relations? PIERRE MAUROY, former Prime Minister of France and now Mayor of Lille, a prominent member of the Socialist Party, shares his views on these questions in an interview granted to New Times.

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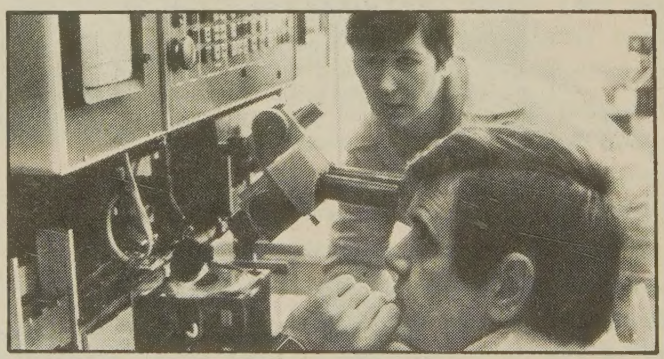

ROBOTS CAN'T DO EVERYTHING

The modern robot plays music, draws pictures, paints automobiles and does welding. But, let us face it, it can't do everything. Scientists say industrial robots should be used only where it is economically expedient—in combination with automated machine tools and production lines, including rotary and rotary-conveyer lines.

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INDEFATIGABLE ANTONIO

"The dance is my weapon," says the prominent Spanish dancer, choreographer and public personality Antonio Gades, who recently toured the U.S.S.R. with his company. His production of the ballet "Carmen," based on the flamenco, has captivated audiences in many countries.

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Looking Ahead with Optimism

The year has just reached its zenith, like the hot sun beating down mercilessly on the square, believed by Varsovians to be Europe's largest, on which the Palace of Culture and Science stands. Nonetheless, it is safe to assert that the highlight of Polish life in 1986 is the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party now in progress, although, of course, the importance of this event is not confined either to this year or to Poland. The presence at the congress of 107 delegations from fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, from revolutionary democratic, socialist and social democratic parties, national liberation and other progressive movements and organizations is clear proof of the international importance of the Polish Communist forum.

What characterized the five years between the 9th and 10th congresses? There is no simple answer to this question. Let us turn to the report of the PUWP Central Committee, entitled "Objectives of the Party in the Socialist Development and Strengthening of the Polish People's Republic," delivered at the congress by Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee. The five years that had elapsed since the 9th Congress, he said, had been largely a period of tension and anxieties, but also a period of work and achievements. The situation had been extremely difficult, but the party had not lost faith in the good sense of the working class and in the Polish people's sense of patriotic responsibility. And the people did show this responsibility.

The extensive all-party and nationwide pre-congress discussions in the course of which the final version of the PUWP Programme took shape were characterized, in the speaker's words, by expectations of the truth, and by hope—the truth about the situation in society, in the country and the national economy, and hope that all problems would be solved and rapid progress made.

For Communists and all Polish working people, speeding up the country's socio-economic progress is not a long-term objective, but an immediate task. Outlining the programme for Poland's further development along socialist lines, Wojciech Jaruzelski pointed out that the main problem was to make up for the time lost, and narrow the gap between Poland and the leading industrialized states.

"We harmoniously dovetail our national objectives and interests and, with increasing success, adapt our common socialist goals to the specific conditions in which they are being worked for," Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed.

The coordination and linking of national interests also characterize the socialist countries' line in the international arena. Polish-Soviet relations, the unbreakable alliance and friendship between them furnish a classic example of that.

"The Polish United Workers' Party emphatically reaffirms its determination," the forum of Polish Communists stated, "to strengthen continuously the bonds of friendship and all-round cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with other fraternal parties. We resolutely support the further strengthening of the might of the socialist community, and the consolidation of its cohesion and unity in all fields."

Making the future of our planet peaceful, removing the danger of nuclear annihilation is a priority task for all nations. This thought imbued the speeches of almost all the congress delegates. While considering domestic problems, they never lose sight of international ones. After all, we have entered an epoch when, as Mikhail Gorbachev told the congress, the inseparable connection between the right to life and the right to development makes itself felt ever more palpably. Poland's Western "benefactors" tried to deprive it of its sacred right to independent development. They failed. "Socialist Poland," the head of the CPSU delegation stressed, "has held out, protected its revolutionary gains—this is your greatest achievement since the last congress, and we can justly congratulate you on it."

The Polish Communist forum continues to make an all-round assessment of the record of the past, analyze the republic's problems in depth, and set objectives for the next stage of socialist construction.

B. KOZLOV
Our Special Correspondent

Warsaw, June 30

Mikhail Gorbachev addressing the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party in Warsaw.

TASS photo

To Get to Know Each Other Better

President François Mitterrand of the French Republic paid an official visit to the Soviet Union at the beginning of July. On the eve of the visit Pierre Mauroy, ex-Prime Minister and Mayor of Lille, one of France's biggest cities, a prominent figure in the French Socialist Party, granted an interview to New Times in which he discussed the coming summit meeting.

Mr Mauroy, there was a time when Soviet-French relations were regarded as a "barometer of détente"—a process initiated by our two states. How would you define today the role and place of Franco-Soviet political dialogue in East-West relations?

The "barometer of détente" is a very happy phrase because it implies, quite correctly, on the one hand, that détente is not confined to Franco-Soviet relations and, on the other, that détente is unthinkable if the relations between our two nations are not making good progress.

This has been the case over the past two decades, and will be the case in the future, because this fact reflects the true state of affairs: the U.S.S.R. bears heavy responsibilities as a world power and has an extremely important role to play in Europe. This is also true of France, even though its role takes different forms and, sometimes, has different aims. As a result, Franco-Soviet dialogue is indispensable for nothing can be built in Europe, in the final analysis, without cooperation between our two countries. This has been repeatedly borne out by history, and holds true today, from which I infer that the Franco-Soviet dialogue is a vital component of East-West dialogue, given Europe's importance in East-West relations.

Franco-Soviet dialogue has always centred on key issues. What, in your opinion, can the French-Soviet summit—the third in the past three years—bring in the way of a reduction of tension in Europe and an amelioration of the international climate?

May I remind you that this is the second summit since Mikhail Gorbachev has been General Secretary. The change of leadership in the Soviet Union has led to a change in style. We should like to know to what an extent this change signifies a cardinal evolution. The only correct way to evaluate this is through direct and more profound contacts. From this standpoint, President Mitterrand's visit to the Soviet Union will certainly be useful.

Another reason why this visit may be of use is that at present the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. are having difficulty in getting the dialogue between them going. This we regret. We hope France will play its role in full to the benefit of all.

What positive impulses could President François Mitterrand's visit to the U.S.S.R. give to bilateral relations?

To begin with, I should like to dwell on the economic links between our two countries. In its trade with the Soviet Union, France has a worrying deficit. In 1984, when Ivan Arkhipov, Soviet Deputy Premier, was in France, I directly called his attention to this problem which is of considerable importance to our country. At that time we mapped out far-reaching plans. Nevertheless, trade imbalance persists and is still causing us concern. We could achieve much in this field, and I think François Mitterrand's visit will give a new impulse to improving the situation in the interests of the U.S.S.R. and France.

Our cultural links are extensive and based on the common desire to make them a model of cooperation between our two countries. We can congratulate each other on our success. The results achieved in this field are bound to allow us to go on expanding and deepening the links between our two nations.

I am certain that the visit of the President of the French Republic to the Soviet Union will provide an excellent opportunity for the development of bilateral relations. I mean the problems I have already mentioned as well as those on which we are still to some extent divided.

Recently the Soviet Union put forward a number of proposals for disarmament which take into account suggestions voiced in Western Europe. What do you think about the Soviet proposals for a gradual worldwide elimination of nuclear weapons in the period of up to the year 2000, starting now, a ban on the militarization of outer space, and a radical reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals?

The Soviet Union's recent proposals certainly point in the right direction. Like all peace-loving people I appreciate their positive character.

I should like to single out three of the proposals you have mentioned: banning the militarization of outer space, the elimination of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional arms.

As regards the first proposal, France is known to have always firmly opposed plans for the militarization of outer space on the grounds that it actually represents a new spiral in the arms race which will bring only illusory security to the countries engaged in it. Furthermore, this programme is wasteful, the cost is simply appalling.

The two other proposals are of extraordinary importance both to the world and to Europe. In this case, however, our chief problem is first to define, and then to use, reliable measures of control. East and West should work out such measures together.

Mr Mauroy, as President of the United Towns Organization, could you describe the organization's activities and its contribution towards a lasting peace and better international understanding?

The United Towns Organization comprises [as individual members—N.T.] more than 1,800 towns in 74 countries It was born of a desire for peace shared after World War II by many city mayors, particularly on the European continent.

The original idea was that direct contacts between men and women in all countries and all cities would reduce the danger of war and promote international understanding. That was why the Organization sought at first to unite as many towns as possible. Today it has a membership of over 3,500 [the figure includes collective members who have

Back to Mir

Working in relays has long been common practice in construction and oil production. A team living in a modern settlement is flown to a hard-of-access worksite and, having done its shift, is relieved by another one. The same routine will be adopted with time by orbital spaceship crews. After all, Mir is actually a space hotel rather than a research station, so cosmonauts will do research work in the laboratories to be attached to it. Some modules—for example crystal-growing factories—will fly on their own lest their equipment should be subjected to any vibration. Crews will rotate through them bringing in new feedstock, doing repairs and bringing back finished products and, then, their assignments completed, rest at the "hotel."

Today this is no longer the stuff of science fiction. The first such space trip in history has just been made. Having made the new station operational, Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyov proceeded to Salyut-7 to complete a job left unfinished by the previous crew owing to a spaceman's illness. They adjusted Salyut-7's research equipment, made two walks in space, and carried out some investigations. Having done everything they were supposed to do, the cosmonauts loaded the Soyuz T-15 craft's cabin with priceless equipment and set out on a return trip. Late on June 26, their ship docked again with the Mir station.

A huge map of the world had been put up on the terrace of the flight control centre near Moscow. On the territory of the Soviet Union there was an intricate pattern of dark ovals designating the radio contact zones of ground tracking stations. The zones were crossed by a sinusoid along which two points, orange and light-blue, moved side by side. Ovals along the trajectory route could be seen outside Soviet territory as well: two in the South Atlantic, one off West Africa, another in the Mediterranean, and one more in the Pacific, near the Mariana Deep. Research ships named after cosmonauts patrol there.

Every 90 minutes loudspeakers gave off short signals followed by the voice of the operator on duty: "Ground control calling Mayaki!" (the cosmonauts' call sign).

The cosmonauts responded within seconds from far, far away. Their ship's orbit commanded a view taking in the shores of South Africa and the Antarctic.

"Everything all right?" ground control asked.

"Why should anything be wrong?" the Mayaki countered. "The station's in sight already, hovering over the earth like a bird. We're heading for it."

Shortly before that we had met Vladimir Pochukayev, the head of the ballistic group who told us that, as soon as the ship came within a distance of twenty kilometres of the station, the two vehicles' radio stations would "find" each other, whereupon the controls of Soyuz T-15 would be taken over by automatic systems which would steer it to the rendezvous point. At the distance of a hundred metres apart the ship would no longer be approaching the station while it would start manoeuvring for the best docking position. Lighting was the most important factor at that point. The sun had to be shining from behind the cosmonauts' backs at an angle of 75 degrees for the docking unit to be seen to best advantage. After the manoeuvre was completed, the Mayaki would regain the controls some fifty metres from the station.

"The station is turning around," the cosmonauts reported. "Now the docking unit is right in front of us, forty metres away."

Mission controller Ryumin asked the cosmonauts to take their time about docking. He said he wanted them to do it over Soviet territory so that the process could be watched on a TV screen at the flight control centre.

The cosmonauts reported that the station had manoeuvred itself into the desired position and was ready to go into the docking orbit.

The Mir station was now perfectly illuminated, but the transfer module's docking unit — the "wharf" for the Soyuz T-15 ship — was misaligned with the rendezvous path. Now Leonid Kizim got a chance to show what he could do.

A TV screen came to life next to the map. On it we saw the Mir station, its solar battery panels spread out like wings, drawing closer and closer. Finally, the docking unit filled almost the whole of the screen.

"Here we are," came the voice of the flight engineer.

That was the last docking to have been accomplished by a manned spaceship using the Igla system, I was told at the flight control centre. The Soyuz TM spaceships, which are to take the next crews up, will be equipped with a Kurs system of an improved design.

A. IVAKHNOV
Izvestia special correspondent,
for New Times

joined through national united towns organizations—**N.T.**].

A new period in the development of this movement is beginning today. Meeting each other and coming to understand what unites or divides us—all this is very important. But this may also prove futile if the towns do not promote cooperation between the North and the South. The movement proceeds from the premise that backwardness is a serious threat to peace, and the mere process of towns drawing closer together can do nothing about the widening gap between the rich industrial countries of the North and the developing countries of the South.

Towns cannot offer an all-round solution to this problem, but they can do much nevertheless: besides passing on experience and skills they are capable of providing specific forms of aid which supplement the results of interstate and multilateral cooperation.

I shall add to this that the Organization deems it its prime duty to fight apartheid and racism, which it regards as the gravest danger to peace. This was the purpose of our exceptional demonstration on Gorée Island, Senegal, on June 14 and 15, 1986, a decade after the events in Soweto near Johannesburg. The presence of a representative delegation from the Soviet Union indicated the interest the Soviet Union takes in these new forms of the Organization's work by which it expresses its aspirations for peace.

As you probably know, the next session of the Organization's administrative bodies is to be held in Kiev this October. I shall take this opportunity to study, together with my Soviet colleagues, the forms in which Soviet towns —members of the Organization—participate in the unification and cooperation programme.

Interviewer: A. KUDRYAVTSEV

Paris

Beyond the Bounds of Common Sense

VLADLEN KUZNETSOV

The hell-bent train of the arms race is hurtling on. Everywhere the demand is that it stop. Stop signals are given from Geneva, Vienna, Stockholm, and from the United Nations, where efforts are being made to check the material preparation of war. But the train plunges on and even picks up speed.

It is clear to the entire international community that the brakes must be put on the arms buildup. Yet official Washington, set on going back on the existing strategic arms limitations, is removing what is in effect the last check.

In his covering letter to a secret report sent to Congress on the observance by the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. of the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties, the U.S. President maintains that "the Soviet forces are very large and would appear, in our judgement, more than enough to meet reasonable military requirements." Could it be that, in a situation when modern civilization could be destroyed not once, but several times over, the White House is prepared to apply the same criterion of adequacy and reasonableness to its own armed forces? Unfortunately not. The criterion there is different: unlimited super-armament. Unlike Moscow, Washington does not want to stop the arms conveyer. What it wants is to continue "playing catch-up," as the President puts it, under cover of the utterly false contention that the U.S. is lagging behind the U.S.S.R.

"Catch-up games" could prove costly for both countries, indeed, for all countries and peoples, in both the direct and the figurative sense of the word. No one can get away from the fact that the choice is between going over to actual disarmament or a runaway arms race fraught with the danger of an explosion at any moment. Far from all have clearly and unequivocally opted for disarmament, which is impeded by the frenzied resistance of the militarist quarters and by fossilized political thinking that for centuries sought security only by military means. To facilitate and hasten the taking of the choice vitally needed by the whole of humanity, the Soviet Union has in the recent period taken a number of measures which have been assessed by broad sections of world opinion as decisive and far-reaching.

The Soviet programme of disarmament extends to all categories of armaments and is projected at closing all channels for their buildup. That programme has been worked out in detail and is substantive and practicable. Moreover, it envisages reliable verification at all stages of disarmament, with the use of both national means of verification and international procedures all the way to on-the-spot inspection.

The Soviet Union's comprehensive, far-reaching and constructive strategy of disarmament, its readiness to take into account the security interests and positions of other countries, is exerting a strong influence on Western thinking. And not only on spheres considered always amenable to Soviet initiatives. The British government, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe said during a foreign policy debate in the House of Commons, believes that the U.S.S.R. sincerely wants the arms buildup ended and disarmament started. Similar statements have been made by many other official spokesmen of NATO countries. Appraising the significance of the Soviet initiatives, the London Sunday Times observed: "Gorbachev tabled the most forthcoming offer the Kremlin has yet made.... The way could thus be opened for an historic missile-cutting deal." And Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), in an interview to the American NBC television network, voiced the conviction that the Western countries should devote more attention to the peace initiatives advanced by the other side than to the testing of new weapons.

The Soviet proposals, which have become the common foreign policy platform of all the countries of the socialist community, opens the way for East and West to a breakthrough in efforts to check the avalanche of armaments and in putting their relations on a more constructive footing. People everywhere are naturally wondering whether Washington will again, as so many times before, miss a favourable opportunity. The anxiety is understandable. For only the blind and the deaf will fail to see and hear that while the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are ready for the broadest mutual understanding with the West, ready to rise above differences and to put an end to the confrontation, the U.S. ruling circles are out to terminate the process of arms limitation and reduction, have carried out their thirteenth nuclear weapons test since the announcement of the Soviet moratorium, and are staging aggressive actions and provocations against Libya and Nicaragua, in the Middle East, in Angola and in Afghanistan. The contrast is glaring. It cannot but give food for thought even to the ruling elite in the U.S.

This was reflected in the speech the President delivered on June 19 in Glassboro, New Jersey. He used all his eloquence to persuade his hearers of the Administration's dedication to peace and disarmament. Many Western news analysts saw in this "essay on peace," as the President himself described his speech, something new and positive in relation to the Soviet Union, a conciliatory note.

The President conceded that "the Soviets have made suggestions on a range of issues, from nuclear power plant safety to conventional force reductions in Europe." He went even further saying that "the Soviets have begun to make a serious effort." Considering that not long ago the existence of any such serious intentions was denied, it may be said that some corrections have been introduced in prejudiced appraisals. If this is a sign that the American leadership intends to stop rejecting Soviet proposals out of hand as pure propaganda, it can only be welcomed.

The Soviet Union harbours no prejudices or bias towards the U.S. We applaud the pianist Vladimir Horowitz, are grateful to Dr Robert Gale and Armand Hammer for their help at a time of misfortune and to the American firemen who paid tribute to the feat of their Soviet counterparts in Chernobyl. The correct, truly civilized relations the Soviet Union invariably advocates presuppose response to all that is good, to the slightest positive signals and impulses. If the President really thinks that there could now be "a turning point in the effort to make ours a safer and more peaceful world," he may rest assured that this will be given the most serious consideration.

The President said "there can be no more important task before us than that of reducing nuclear weapons, that talk alone is not enough." The time has come to move forward. This is precisely what the Soviet Union constantly underscores.

The proof of good intentions are deeds, and only deeds. It still remains for the U.S. to prove its avowed dedication to peace and disarmament, to prove what the Soviet Union has already proved by unilaterally terminat-

ing nuclear explosions, by scaling down and displaying restraint in military activity, and by strictly abiding by the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties. In view of this it is hardly in place for the President to strike the pose of a front-runner in disarmament as he does when he invites the Soviet leadership "to join me in taking action—action in the name of peace." What the White House only intends to embark on has long been the standard practice in the Kremlin. Calls to the U.S.S.R. to "prove willing" and to "intensify efforts" are misaddressed. It is high time those who issue these calls acted accordingly.

The President told his worldwide audience that his country had "worked to break the patterns of history that all too often resulted in war." Such patterns include the drive for military superiority and world hegemony, and the use of armed force as a means of resolving issues in dispute. But has the U.S. renounced these militarist traditions?

The new political thinking dictated by the realities of the nuclear age is insistently knocking at the door of the White House. But that door remains closed, and if it is opened, only the tiniest crack. Is this not why, as many feel in the U.S., the present incumbent in the five and a half years of his presidency has been unable to reach agreement with the U.S.S.R. in the matter of arms reduction and limitation, is this not why he has failed where several of his predecessors succeeded? It is clear, then, why Reagan made an attempt in Glassboro to persuade the U.S. public, Western Europe and the Soviet Union that he seriously wants to see the arms race checked and that he is capable of reaching agreement with the U.S.S.R. before his term of office is over. At the same time he sought to dispel the opinion widespread in the world that U.S. "arms control" policy has been placed practically in its entirety at the service of the diehard opponents of disarmament, who under all administrations have sought to dismantle and scrap the entire SALT mechanism.

In 1979, when the SALT-2 treaty was signed, spokesmen of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously conceded at Senate hearings that the agreement accorded with America's security interests. What has changed since then to warrant the ostracism of a document that checks the arms race in one of its most dangerous areas? The United States' European allies are taken aback. All experts are astounded. The whole world is asking how the Reagan Administration could ever have decided that the United States should renounce the SALT-2 treaty. This question is asked, for instance, by a former Congressman, now Professor of Law at Georgetown University, Robert Drinan.

Evidently it is believed that for America, rearmed and overarmed under the present Administration, agreements with the U.S.S.R. become something of a Procrustean bed. After the SALT-2 treaty the next in line to be jettisoned is the ABM treaty. When that is done, no one will be able to prevent the U.S. from doing what it pleases, from bringing SDI to fruition. All limitations would be gone.

There are in the United States no few sober minds who have seen through the stratagem of replacing an obsolete, ineffective and even "flawed" treaty with some miracle contract. "Ronald Reagan is not prepared to bargain seriously on arms control," former deputy director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Spurgeon Keeny says. "He has established that he is more interested in challenging the Soviet Union to an open-ended nuclear arms race than in constraining Soviet strategic forces by an agreement."

It is legitimate to ask: what is this position based on? If we decipher opinions full of hidden meaning voiced by high-ranking Administration spokesmen, it will be seen that it rests on the following three assumptions:

The U.S. is capable of winning the arms race, while the U.S.S.R. will not be able to bear the burden.

By its SDI programme the U.S. has created for the U.S.S.R. difficult problems which it as like as not will not be able to resolve.

The U.S., by its policy of neoglobalism and support of anti-communist forces the world over, will roll back both communism and the national liberation movement of the peoples.

Such are the assumptions. But they are based on faulty reasoning. Washington cannot but be aware that the U.S.S.R. has the potential to neutralize the threat created by the rearmament of America. It also ought to reckon with the potential of the peoples who have embarked on the highroad of independent development and are supported by progressives the world over. It should not preen itself over Grenada. After all, before Grenada there were Korea and Vietnam. Cuba, Angola, Nicaragua and Libya are reminders that the world policeman is not omnipotent.

Thus on closer examination all the above assumptions turn out to be illusions. But they are no less dangerous for that. What could it all spell for the United States itself? David Newsom, director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, says: "If the policies fail, the results will not be a Soviet collapse, but serious long-term political, budgetary and security problems for the United States and for its allies." To this conclusion one can only add: it is a good thing that there are Americans aware of the danger of a shortsighted policy that is prompted not by the realities of life but by fictions and anti-communist dogmas, and hence is altogether beyond the bounds of common sense.

The Glassboro speech did not particularly perplex experienced American news commentators. Flora Lewis, writing in the New York Times, draws attention to the ambiguity and contradictoriness of the American position, and asks whether the muddle is not deliberate and intended to "confuse the Russians"? The conclusion she draws is this: there is no evidence whatsoever of any intention to come out with coherent, consistent statements on American policy from which friends and enemies could learn what precisely to expect of the United States.

Incidentally, while the President was waving the olive branch in Glassboro, others brandished the nuclear fist and thereby threw light on what can be expected from official Washington. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger called for extending the geographic zone of NATO and placing its armed forces at the service of U.S. global expansion. In another public statement the Pentagon chief expatiated on how "star wars" weapons could make it possible to destroy missiles "as they emerge from their silos." From talk of this order it is only a step to insane first-strike notions.

The Soviet Union, let me repeat, is not set on confrontation with the U.S.; it does not take a prejudiced view of everything done and said there. A conciliatory tone is of course preferable to brazenness. But such a tone is not a constant attribute of Washington policy. Each time the makers of this policy allow themselves to be "carried away" and waves of indignation arise on both sides of the Atlantic, the hawks begin to coo. But not for long. They soon return to their screeching.

Apart from a few words in an occasional speech, so far there is no indication of Washington displaying restraint, an honest desire to find a common language with others on the vital issues of war and peace. Verbal assurances of a striving for conciliation are not enough. It must find reflection in behaviour, actions, realistic policy. The Soviet Union awaits tangible positive changes in U.S. policy, a truly constructive approach to initiatives and proposals that pave the way to a secure peace.

■

YUGOSLAVIA

STRATEGY DEFINED

At their 13th Congress held in the Sava Centre—Belgrade's Palace of Congresses—for three days last June Yugoslav Communists discussed the most pressing problems that face the country. The Party forum achieved a great deal. Delegates discussed reports on the activities of the central bodies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, adopted nine important resolutions setting the Party new objectives for the next few years, summed up the deliberations of the six commissions that had discussed the key problems of the country's and Party's development, looked into changes in the Party Rules and elected the authorities of the LCY.

Vidoje Zarkovic, President of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, delivered a report entitled "The LCY and the Further Development of Socialist, Autonomous and Non-Aligned Yugoslavia." Addressing representatives from the two-million-strong army of Yugoslav Communists, Vidoje Zarkovic pointed out that in the years of popular rule the working class, the peoples and ethnic groups of Yugoslavia, led by the League of Communists, had altered the face of the country beyond recognition. Impressive results had been achieved in promoting the development of society's productive forces. The gross social product had grown sevenfold, and industrial output, 17-fold since 1947. Over a relatively short period the country had turned into a developed industrial-agrarian state and built up new industries. As a result of reforms in agriculture there had emerged a public sector distinguished by high productivity, which now accounts for more than half of marketable farm produce. Economic success had provided the material base for social development, progress in public education, science and culture, and improved living standards.

Socialist Yugoslavia's achievements are obvious and indisputable. But it is not the way of Communists to rest on their laurels or close their eyes to shortcomings. What problems confront the League of Communists, its Central Committee and each Party member today? What did Party veterans and young workers, elderly academicians and farmers speak so heatedly from the congress' platform?

The speakers at the congress and the documents it adopted described the years under review as one of the most complex periods in postwar history. Vidoje Zarkovic pointed out in his report that acute economic problems and social contradictions had developed over that period. Communists have many causes for concern: failure to achieve the main targets of the five-year plan; continued symptoms of economic stagnation, the drop in labour efficiency in the public sector, higher inflation rates, the rising foreign debt which has become a serious problem, and an increase in unemployment. Economic troubles are accompanied by increasingly pronounced negative tendencies in the ideological sphere and the re-emergence of anti-socialist elements. The delegates vigorously opposed nationalism infiltrating various spheres of public life—from economic and political relations to culture. Having laid bare and openly analyzed the shortcomings, the congress pointed out that the problems confronting the country could be solved chiefly through a strict fulfilment of the long-term programme for economic stabilization. Society can make further progress in socialist construction given, first and foremost, the LCY's ideological and organizational unity and unity of action, and its firm adherence to the principle of democratic centralism.

The speakers at the congress and the documents it adopted stressed the need for the further improvement in the political system of socialist self-government, cementing the brotherhood and unity of the peoples and ethnic groups of Yugoslavia, and enhancing the role of work collectives in production management.

The forum of Yugoslav Communists reaffirmed Yugoslavia's commitment to peaceful coexistence with all countries irrespective of their social systems, the policy of non-alignment with military-political groupings, peace, universal security, and disarmament, and its opposition to colonialism, neo-colonialism and to the imperialist threat. The congress levelled sharp criticism at the continuation of the arms race by the military-industrial complex of the U.S. and certain West European countries, and at the U.S. Administration's plans to abandon SALT-2.

It is pointed out in the LCY Central Committee's report that Soviet-Yugoslav relations have been making good progress. The two countries maintain a dialogue and exchange views at all levels. While the 13th Congress was in progress, the CPSU delegation, led by Geidar Aliyev, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Vidoje Zarkovic and Branko Mikulic, Chairman of the Federal Executive Council. Both sides voiced their determination to continue to make every effort to promote all-round Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation. The principles and understandings agreed upon and formalized in bilateral documents during Soviet-Yugoslav summit meetings provide a reliable basis for the further development of relations between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia.

The delegates to the 13th LCY Congress, and with them all the country's Communists, are now starting to implement the important decisions adopted by the congress. They are determined to translate words into deeds and attain the targets set.

V. GRISHNY
Our Own Correspondent

Belgrade

U.S.S.R.—F.R.G.

REMOVE THE BARRIERS

The talks with the Soviet leaders have shown that the U.S.S.R. is striving for cooperation with its Western partners. Both sides attach great importance to the development of trade and economic ties which serve to strengthen confidence and peace. Hence no new barriers to cooperation should be raised and the old ones should be removed.

It was on this note that Johannes Rau, Vice-Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, began his press conference in Moscow. He was here for the opening of

the trade and industrial exhibition of North Rhine-Westphalia, one of the biggest states of the F.R.G. The exhibition itself, as a matter of fact, was designed to contribute to the development of relations between the two countries and to the elimination of barriers.

Today when a deep-going economic restructuring is under way in the U.S.S.R. there are abundant opportunities for expanding the economic ties between the two countries and finding new forms of such cooperation. This, among other things, was the subject of the talks Johannes Rau had with Mikhail Gorbachev. Since trade and politics, as we know, go hand in hand, questions relating to international security were naturally discussed. The talks touched also upon contacts between the CPSU and the SDPG, both sides recognizing that despite ideological differences these contacts benefit the peoples of both countries, the European process generally and the entire range of East-West relations.

"We think in different categories," the guest from Federal Germany said, "but we think of one thing—peace." In this connection a New Times reporter put this question to Johannes Rau who is the Social Democratic candidate for Federal Chancellor:

"During your talks with Mikhail Gorbachev you said that in the event of a Social Democratic victory in the elections you, as the new Chancellor, would initiate 'a second phase of détente.' The revival of détente is mentioned also in the draft of the new Social Democratic Party programme. Could you enlarge upon this?"

"I first used the term 'second phase of détente in a speech I delivered in Ahlen last December when I was officially nominated as candidate for Chancellor," Herr Rau replied. "At that time I mentioned three basic aspects: first, disarmament, primarily in Europe. Second, development of economic cooperation, and third, expansion of cultural exchanges in all spheres."

The elections to the Bundestag are due to be held early next year.

D. POGORZHELSKY

U.S.A.—NICARAGUA

MILLIONS FOR THE CONTRAS

On June 25 the U.S. House of Representatives by a vote of 221 to 209 passed the government bill on the granting of $100 million to the Nicaraguan contras.

Reagan asked for the appropriations back in February, since when the bill was footballed back and forth between the two chambers of Congress. In March the House turned it down by a 12-vote majority thereby registering its disapproval of the Administration's power politics in Central America. Then the Senate kicked it back after endorsing it by a minimal vote. When the bill came up for a second reading in the House in April it was turned down again. At that time many members of Reagan's own party refused to support it.

In June, under renewed White House pressure, the "case of the $100 million for the contras" was reopened. This was accompanied by a powerful anti-Nicaraguan propaganda campaign which culminated in a deliberately dramatized television and radio speech by the President the day before the voting. (Thomas O'Neill, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, rejected Reagan's request to be allowed to address the legislators direct as being "without precedent.") Reiterating the whole range of threadbare lies and abuse of the Sandinists, Reagan declared that if the contras were not given the $100 million all prospects of establishing democracy in the region would be ruined and the national security of the U.S. placed in jeopardy. In which case, he said, "we will have to confront the reality of a Soviet military beachhead inside our defence perimeters." To make it sound more convincing he gave the assurance that he would insist on civilian control of the aid so as to ensure that abuses of human rights by the contras would not go unpunished. American aid, he averred, would be given only to those dedicated to democratic principles.

What "civilian control" can there be when the dollar aid to the contras, chiefly in the form of weaponry, comes virtually over closed CIA channels, with the relevant State Department office serving merely as a front? What "concern" about violations of human rights can be expected of the hired bandits for whom the U.S. espionage department itself has put out a special handbook on how to commit terrorist acts against the population on Nicaraguan territory? How much is talk about dedication to democracy worth if more than four fifths of the basic strike force of the counterrevolution—the so-called "Nicaraguan democratic force"—consists of former Somocists?

And so in the end the White House won the protracted battle with Congress. Of course, it was clear from the outset that the differences between supporters and the opponents of Reagan's Nicaraguan policy in Congress ought not to be overestimated. The majority essentially share a common platform of interference in the affairs of this Central American country.

Judging by the opinion polls, this position is not consonant with the mood of the American people. However, public opinion carries very little weight

Contras in training in Miami.

Photo from Cambio 16 (Spain)

with the Reagan Administration. Besides, the "battle" in Congress was essentially fought not over the $100 million, which, after all, is not such a large sum for Washington. In any case the hidden flow of funds for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries continues. The contras get everything they need through CIA channels as well as from so-called private funds.

Reagan needed Congress' consent to the $100 million appropriation only as a token of official approval of his neo-globalist doctrine—a doctrine that provides for open support of anti-government forces in any country whose socio-economic and political system does not suit the U.S. rulers.

The American TV company CBS has described the debates in the House of Representatives on appropriations for the contras as one of the ugliest squabbles on foreign policy issues since the Vietnam war. It looks as if the President has won this round of the fight. But his "victory" has evoked strong protest from the Contadora countries (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama) and indeed from all who seek a political settlement of the Central American crisis.

A. BARYSHEV

CUBA—BRAZIL

DESPITE WASHINGTON PRESSURE

Although the news was not unexpected, the Brazilian television actually interrupted the live transmission from the football championship in Mexico to announce. Cuba and Brazil had restored diplomatic relations, which were broken off in 1964 after the miltiary coup in Brazil.

The statement published in both capitals stressed that the governments of the two countries stood for relations of friendship and cooperation on the basis of respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs.

These are the principles Cuba has consistently adhered to for more than a quarter century, ever since the victory of the Cuban revolution. Its policy of struggle for peace, disarmament, the security of all peoples and social progress has earned the republic high prestige in the international arena. Whereas the Batista regime had diplomatic relations with only 59 countries, Cuba today has such relations with more than 120 countries. In the past year alone two more countries, Uruguay and Argentina, have restored relations with it.

The renewal of diplomatic relations with Brazil, the biggest Latin American country, is a heavy blow at Washington's policy of isolating the Isle of Freedom both in Latin America and beyond its bounds. The U.S. Administration has exerted no little effort to prevent the step Havana and Brasilia have just agreed to take. It is no secret, the Prensa Latina Agency points out, that the recent trips to Brasilia by Vernon Walters, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and John Whitehead, Deputy Secretary of State, were undertaken with the aim of bringing pressure to bear on Brazil and forcing it to follow in the wake of White House policy.

There is a glaring lack of logic in Washington's position. The U.S. usually frowns on any Latin American country that establishes and develops political, economic and cultural contacts with Cuba. Yet, despite its hostility toward that Caribbean republic, Washington is compelled to maintain contacts with Havana. For nearly 10 years it has an office in Havana representing the U.S. interests in Cuba. Staffed by U.S. diplomats, it has the status of a department of the Swiss Embassy. Cuba has a similar mission with a similar status at the Czechoslovak embassy in Washington.

The forthcoming exchange of ambassadors is seen in Brasilia as a prelude to the establishment of broader bilateral ties, in particular in the trade and economic sphere.

V. CHIRKOV

EUROPEAN COUNCIL SESSION

BOTHA SHOULD BE PLEASED

This year's first session of the European Council, the conference of the heads of state and government of the twelve Common Market countries held in The Hague on June 26-27, had more than its share of economic and political issues requiring top-level decisions. On the agenda were such matters as chronic mass unemployment, commercial relations with the U.S., economic sanctions against South Africa, the Greco-Turkish conflict, the impending talks on GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), East-West relations, and the situation in Central America. But as had been the case more than once before, the EEC chiefs postponed decisions on most issues till better times and confined themselves to off-the-record discussions.

It transpired that the twelve were prepared to display a united front only on trade issues. They plan to get tough should Washington impose further restrictions on agricultural imports from the Common Market countries. They have also agreed on their stance at the forthcoming round of GATT talks where the liberalization of terms for international trading in services is to be discussed. However, world attention was diverted from these modest but positive results by the decision to impose a three-month delay on the introduction of economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Though most Common Market countries want an immediate trade boycott against South Africa, The Hague meeting did not go that far. Promising to "persuade" Pretoria of the need to halt reprisals and initiaite a dialogue with black leaders, Margaret Thatcher, and the West German and Portuguese leaders who seconded her, secured a postponement of even "limited" sanctions against the racist regime. This immediately provoked a stormy response in the U.K. and in the other Commonwealth countries, which now plan to introduce sanctions against London as an abettor of the racists.

As British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock pointed out, the only person to be gratified by the results of the EEC summit will be Pieter Botha.

A. KUZIN

JAPAN

FORGETFUL OF THE PAST

Another school textbook row has flared up in Japan, this time over a history textbook compiled by the national council for the defence of Japan—a nationalistic organization which calls for the revision of the constitution and a fundamental reappraisal of events of the recent past. The choice of the compilers speaks for itself, they have certainly coped with their task, at any rate in the opinon of the Ministry of Education which has hastened to approve of their work.

From the new history book the pupils will learn that imperial Japan was not an aggressive power, that it did not start the war in the Pacific, did not oppress occupied Korea, did not stage a bloody massacre in Nanking and attacked China exclusively in self-defence.

Neighbouring Asian countries which experienced the horrors of Japanese occupation, which cannot forget the past and do not want to allow Japan to forget it have objected to this misinterpretation of history. China has lodged an official protest and other Southeast Asian countries are equally indignant. The new history is particularly offensive to the Asian countries also because a few years ago Tokyo attempted to revise history textbooks so as to present a favourable picture of Japan's part in World War II. The international scandal this caused elicited a reluctant apology from the Japanese Education Ministry and the promise to make the necessary changes. But this was merely a placatory gesture. Nothing was changed.

The rewriting of textbooks is part of a systematic campaign conducted by the leadership of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to "reappraise the past" with a view to bringing it in line with present objectives.

Just over in Tokyo is a trial that went on for more than 20 years. The defendent, Saburo Ienaga, a leading Japanese historian and the author of many theoretical works and popular books, lost the case, the Tokyo Higher Court ruled in favour of the Ministry of Education. Early in the 1960s Ienaga, who had written several school textbooks, sued the Ministry on the grounds that its censors insisted on his rewriting the chapters dealing with the war. Ienaga had written honestly about the Japanese aggression, about the atrocities committed in the occupied territories and about the sufferings of the Japanese themselves who had to pay for the crimes of their political and military leaders, in a word all that the Tokyo Establishment was bent on expunging from the memory of the people. The simplest way to do this was to censor objective textbooks and to push through the publication of those written "in the spirit of the times."

What is happening today in Japan—the tailoring of historical facts to fit the political and ideological tenets of today—is characteristic also of other Western countries. "Each generation, it is said, rewrites history in the light of its own experience," the New York Time magazine wrote. "But when the historical event is defeat in war, as Japan experienced in World War II and the United States experienced in Vietnam, the impulse to ignore or explain away or tidy up the defeat is particularly strong."

The imperial policy of the White House has intensified the process of the deformation of historical memory in the United States which is anxious to wipe out as quickly as possible all memory of the inglorious aggression in Indo-China. If in Tokyo the invasion of China is called a "defensive action," in Washington the occupation of Grenada is presented as a "rescue operation."

Loss of memory is a serious complaint. Loss of historical memory is doubly serious. He who forgets the past risks having to relive it.

L. MLECHIN

They'd Rather Die...

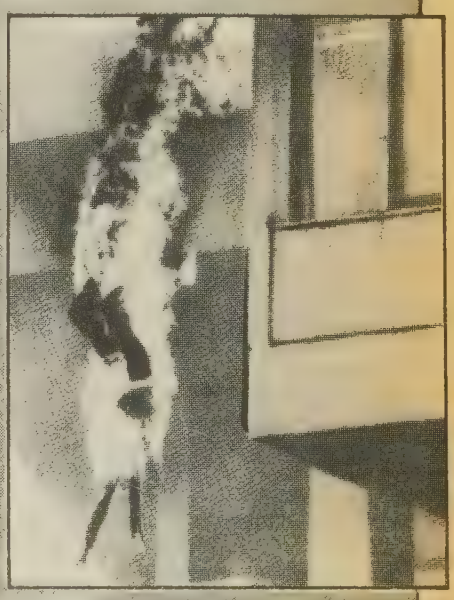
Li Dun So, a 23-year-old student, climbed on to the roof of a Seoul University building, poured petrol on his clothes, set himself on fire, and jumped with a cry of "down with American imperialism!" According to Confucianism, which is widespread in South Korea, the form of protest against injustice he had selected is the loftiest and purest.

Hundreds of thousands of South Korean students take part in anti-government demonstrations. They want American troops out of South Korea. Recently, groups of students tried to take over the U.S. Embassy, the Korean-American Bank and the American cultural centre.

The response of the Chon Doo Hwan regime, which depends on American money and American bayonets for survival, is always the same. The ruthless and conservative war machine is already running out of patience, the Christian Science Monitor comments. In late May and early June alone, 13,000 South Koreans were jailed after mass round-ups.

The D.P.R.K. government has proposed that nuclear weapons and American troops be withdrawn from South Korea, the Korean peninsula be made a nuclear-free zone of peace, and tripartite negotiations be conducted on the reduction of the level of military confrontation. Both Washington and Seoul have rejected these proposals, but increasing numbers of South Koreans are in favour. Opposition to dictatorship and American occupation is gaining ground. Christian Science Monitor quotes an anonymous "American expert" in Seoul as saying that this may spell trouble. For Chon Doo Hwan and Washington, of course.

L. YELIN



Associated Press photo (U.S.A.)

Identity of Views

The fact that representatives from 30 African countries attended the Joint Soviet-African Scientific and Political Conference For Peace, Cooperation and Social Progress in Moscow on June 24-26 is an earnest of the interest shown by the African public in the conference's work.

This was the second Soviet-African conference. Since the first in 1981 the world situation has sharply deteriorated. Due to the irresponsible policy of the Reagan Administration, which took over in 1981, the threat of nuclear disaster is now much more grave. At the conference speakers unanimously denounced the arms race unleashed by Washington along with its designs to militarize outer space, and at the same time gave full support to the Soviet peace initiatives.

"The conference met at a difficult time, when the human race is faced with a range of problems in whose solution Africa also has a stake," Henry Meebelo, Minister for Presidential Affairs of the Zambian Republic, told us here in Moscow. "The paramount task is to combat the nuclear danger. We in Zambia support the Soviet programme radically to reduce nuclear arsenals along with conventional and chemical weaponry."

"We need peace desperately to develop," Arsène Ratsifehera, Deputy General Secretary of the Congress for the Independence of Madagascar Party and a member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, noted. "We attach great significance to cooperation with the Soviet Union which upholds peace for all, not only for itself."

Africa's 50 independent states comprise a great political force. Understanding between it and the Soviet Union is of prime significance today, when the destiny of civilization hangs in the balance. It was unanimously agreed at the conference that the Moscow discussions had disclosed an identity of views on the basic issues of stronger peace and international security.

When Africa's regional problems came to be discussed, many emphasized its dire economic plight. They noted the astronomical external debt, wholesale unemployment, and the hundreds of thousands of deaths from disease and hunger, and stressed that this was a direct consequence of Africa's perennial colonial exploitation by the West which continued to thrive in new forms. Mentioned here were the results of the 13th U.N. General Assembly Special Session held at the end of May and the beginning of June and devoted to Africa's critical economic situation. We asked Diallo Bailo Telivel, a senior official at the Ministry for Information and Culture of the Guinean Republic whether it was true that at this session, hoping to obtain additional Western financial aid at all costs, most African countries had agreed to major concessions, including some in the political sphere. After all, the documents adopted did not mention the need to combat colonialism and neo-colonialism.

"That is true," he said. "We made concessions, but I must admit to our regret that the overall results failed to measure up to our hopes. The West did not give any explicit pledges to provide African countries with financial assistance and I fear they will postpone these matters indefinitely."

We put the same question to Teffesse Uork Wondimu, Central Committee sector chief of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia.

"The discussions in New York," he said, "revealed that by playing on the difficulties besetting developing countries the imperialist powers sought to dictate politically and secure definite political, economic and other concessions. In some cases they were successful. Still, most African states understand that we will be able to cope with out complex problems not by compromising with imperialism, but by establishing a new international economic order based on fairness and equality, promoting the state sector in the economic field, resisting all forms of exploitation, and enhancing the role of the working class in government."

Considerable attention was given to the report presented by Pyotr Koshelev, Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, in which he spoke of Soviet-African economic and technological cooperation.

The Soviet Union, he said, was promoting economic cooperation with African countries interested in such cooperation regardless of their state system or political orientation. The U.S.S.R.'s commercial and economic partners in Africa were constantly on the increase, from 4 in 1960 to 20 in 1970, 28 in 1975, and 37 today. The Soviet Union had helped Africa build some 300 economic installations and about 300 more were under construction or on the drawing boards.

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Soviet engineers had designed the Soviet-equipped aluminium plant in Nag Hammadi in Egypt. Today it was not only meeting domestic aluminium requirements but was even exporting some of its output, thus netting an annual $120-130 million. Another example was the steel plant in Ajaokuta, Nigeria, which, with an annual capacity of 1.3 million tons, is biggest metallurgical enterprise in all of Tropical Africa.

In view of Africa's increasingly acute food problem, the U.S.S.R. has since the 1980s been stepping up economic and technological cooperation to enable African countries to promote farming and put an end to the food crisis. The U.S.S.R. is helping 16 African countries to establish 155 farms of which 60 or more are already in operation.

The conference also discussed the situation in southern Africa, suggesting that a revolutionary situation was maturing in South Africa and that the apartheid regime would have collapsed long ago had it not been backed by the U.S., Britain and other NATO countries. The West was roundly censured for refusing to introduce comprehensive economic sanctions against the racist regime. The veto the U.S. constantly employs in the Security Council to block resolutions against South Africa was described as shameful.

"The conflict in southern Africa," Jeffy Marishane of the African National Congress of South Africa's research division, said, "has reached a level when we can confidently state that a real people's war is being waged against apartheid with the goal of toppling the hated regime and establishing a united democratic state in South Africa. This movement is being led by the African National Congress, whose role as the tested vanguard of the people of South Africa was recognized by the conference."

In conclusion, Anatoly Gromyko, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and Director of the Africa Institute, observed that the conference had shown the usefulness of such periodic meetings for an exchange of views on a wide range of topical international issues, among them the further development of Soviet-African relations.

Y. BOCHKARYOV and N. RESHETNYAK

The Pitfalls of "Free Trade"

BORIS ALYOKHIN and ELENA KOMKOVA
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U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

Two people meet on the high seas: Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in a rowing boat and U.S. President Reagan on a transatlantic liner. "Welcome aboard," the President invites his Canadian colleague, "and we get unlimited access to your boat." Mulroney agrees without hesitation, believing that he has got a good deal: it is far more pleasant to sail on a high tech vessel in the company of American friends than to strain at the oars. The fact that the fateful word "Titanic" is clearly visible on the side of the American ship and icebergs are already looming on the horizon makes no difference.

This is how a Canadian Tribune cartoonist sees the pros and cons for Canada of a free trade zone in North America.

Is the signing of a Canadian-American free trade agreement, which has been debated on both sides of the border for over a hundred years, really in the offing? And if so, how would the mutual dismantling of customs barriers affect the economic and political sovereignty of Canada, the weaker partner in the agreement? The questions have been mooted in the Canadian press ever since Mulroney's Progressive Conservative Party won the Canadian parliamentary election in September 1984.

Geographically and historically, the two North-American states have been interdependent and influenced each other to a high degree. Clearly, with Canada only having a tenth of the economic potential of the U.S., this interdependence is unequal. Although Canada and the U.S. are major trading partners and both are major spheres for capital investment for one another, this economic interdependence affects the two countries in qualitatively different ways. While only about 20 per cent of U.S. exports go to Canada, the American market absorbs about 80 per cent of Canadian exports. Canadian investment accounts for under 10 per cent of foreign investment in the U.S., and for one per cent of total investment in the American economy. American capital in Canada, however, controls half of industry and as much as 80 per cent of such industries as automobile, tobacco and rubber processing.

Aware of the dangers of one-sided orientation towards the economy of their southern neighbour, the former Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau made certain efforts to strengthen national capital inside the country and diversify Canada's foreign trade. A spe-

cial agency was set up to check foreign investment, supplies of fuel to the U.S. were cut, and a national energy programme was drawn up. Although subsequently Canada had to abandon some of its proclaimed objectives under pressure from Washington and right-wing forces inside the country, the result for Canada of the 16-year "Trudeau era" was greater economic independence and enhanced international prestige.

After the Progressive Conservative Party took over, Ottawa's economic policy became markedly pro-American. Following the example of the Reagan Administration it embraced "deregulation" of the economy (meaning first and foremost the shrinking of the public sector) and did everything to encourage free enterprise. The Mulroney cabinet's foreign economic policy made the signing of a preferential trade agreement with the U.S. the cornerstone of its foreign economic policy.

The official revision of the foreign economic policy began with the publication in January 1985 of a Green Paper entitled "How to Secure and Enhance Canadian Access to Export Markets." Although in formal terms the document is just a draft to be discussed by the business community, the Conservatives have made it clear that from now on their main objective is a comprehensive trade agreement with the U.S. The next step was made during the meeting between the Canadian Prime Minister and the U.S. President in Quebec at which they adopted a declaration whereby the President's trade representative and the Canadian foreign trade minister were to prepare proposals on ways of liberalizing bilateral exchanges. James Kelleher, the Canadian Minister for International Trade, reported back to the Prime Minister in September 1985. Proceeding from his recommendations, Mulroney officially proposed to the U.S. President that a free trade zone on the North American continent be created. In his reply President Reagan welcomed the Canadian initiative. The first round of Canadian-American talks to create such a zone was held in Ottawa last May.

What is prompting the present Canadian government to board the American ship of trade? First of all it is the interests of those influential Canadian capitalists who brought the government to power two years ago. They also include representatives of American capital in Canada, Canadian monopolies involved mainly in the extracting and primary processing of minerals, and the authorities in the country's western and Atlantic provinces. They see a North American free trade zone as a way of ensuring free access to the vast U.S. market, speeding up structural changes in the Canadian economy and making Canadian goods more competitive on the world market.

Among the opponents of free trade are members of the Canadian business community operating primarily in the secondary processing of industrial products and some Canadian farmers. Mulroney's "continentalist" ideas are opposed by the most populous and industrially the most powerful province in Canada, Ontario. The Liberal and the New Democratic parties, the two leading political parties in the country, along with the Communist Party, vigorously oppose the government's plans. The present policy is also opposed by the Canadian Labour Congress, the most powerful trade union association with a membership of more than 2 million.

Advocates of Canada's economic independence believe that the recipes prescribed by the Conservatives will not cure Canada's economic ills. Canada's customs disarmament in the face of a superior enemy, they say, will inevitably result in the bankruptcy of many of the weaker Canadian enterprises and entire sectors of industry. According to patently conservative government estimates, free trade would adversely affect at least 23 of the 28 sectors of the economy, notably such labour-intensive industries as leather, textiles, garments, and farming. An equally important consequence would be further growth in unemployment which, now at 10 per cent, threatens to exceed socially tolerable limits.

According to the draft agreement, in order to enjoy the illusory advantages of free trade Ottawa will have to abandon government programmes to stimulate industrial and regional development and preferential financing of science-intensive industries. The White House also insists that Canada should scrap social security programmes, such as unemployment benefits and medical care, which it considers to be too generous.

Canadian opinion is particularly outraged by the U.S. intention to seek "equal" rights for its companies in such cultural areas as book, newspaper and magazine publishing, radio and television programming and the production and distribution of cinema and video films. The abolition of laws requiring a necessary minimum of "Canadian content" in the press, radio and television is popularly seen as an abandonment of the country's cultural independence, an important aspect of the national identity. Finally, a growing number of Canadians feel that the impingement of economic sovereignty and cultural erosion are bound to have negative effects on Canada's political independence.

While the diplomats are thrashing out the language of the future agreement, Washington and Ottawa are exchanging opening shots signalling an imminent trade conflict. On May 22—the day the first round of the trade talks ended—President Reagan, yielding to pressure from American timber manufacturers, announced a rise in import duties on a number of Canadian woodworking industry products. The following day Brian Mulroney sharply criticized the Reagan Administration's protectionist policy and threatened retaliatory measures. Ottawa went ahead with these measures in early June (simultaneously with Washington) with the Canadian reply turning out to be more damaging for American exports. All this highlights the deep economic differences between the U.S. and Canada and the complex situation in which trade negotiations are taking place.

The obvious snags that free trade holds in store for Canada are a powerful counterargument to "continentalism." That is why, despite the fact that talks between Canada and the U.S. about a free trade zone have already got under way, their outcome is uncertain. In his speech at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Canadian Communist Party, pointed out that there was growing understanding of the fact that so-called free trade with the U.S. would deprive Canada of its sovereignty and independence and lead to its absorbtion by the North American empire. This very real threat is increasing resistance among progressives in Canada to the policy pursued by the Mulroney cabinet.

■

Who Is Fanning Greco-Turkish Friction

Relations between Greece and Turkey are far from good-neighbourly. Every now and then they are aggravated to boiling point. Yet the foreign policy stands of the two neighbouring states are in many respects identical. Both Athens and Ankara want to see the arms race ended and confidence-building measures taken on the international scene as a means towards this goal. Both support the principle of the peaceful settlement of contentious issues, advocate respect for the territorial integrity of other states and non-intervention in their internal affairs. Both countries call for a just settlement in the Middle East and support the legitimate struggle of the Arab people of Palestine under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization for the establishment of an independent national state.

Yet tension (if not hostility) has persisted in relations between Greece and Turkey over the years. What divides them despite their similar approaches to major international issues?

Two thorny problems are usually mentioned as being of most importance, firstly, that of Cyprus, and, secondly, the status of the Aegean Sea, through which the maritime border between the two countries passes. Greek military activity on the island of Lemnos, which belongs to Greece but lies very close to the Turkish coast, is a particular bone of contention.

Until 1963, when outside imperialist forces provoked armed clashes between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, nothing marred relations between the two countries. Problems arose because of the escalation of U.S. military presence in the Eastern Mediterranean and the efforts of the United States and Britain to have Cyprus renounce its policy of non-alignment and involve it in NATO's strategic plans. These intrigues against Cyprus were intensified with the years.

In 1974 the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, in cooperation with other Western secret services and relying on the reactionary regime of "black colonels" in Greece, attempted to get the junta to overthrow the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, and annex the island to Greece. The Pentagon would then have had a marvellous opportunity to make Cyprus an important staging area in a strategically sensitive region. Ankara took the actions by the then Greek military dictators as a threat to the existence of the Turkish community in Cyprus and immediately sent in troops, who occupied two fifths of the island. In the autumn of 1983 the leaders of the Turkish community proclaimed a "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," so far recognized only by Ankara, which further aggravated the situation by actually reinforcing the division of Cyprus.

This was used by Washington as a means of escalating tension in the Eastern Mediterranean to further U.S. military-strategic goals. Washington acted not only against the national interests of the independent island state but also at the expense of the national interests of Greece and Turkey, though both are NATO members. But why did the U.S. Administration, which is constantly urging unity among all the members of the alliance, directly contribute to the dramatic aggravation of relations between those two NATO countries?

Washington seems to be willing to sacrifice what it considers minor interests for the more important goal of shoring up NATO's southern flank and turning it into a major strike force directed against both the U.S.S.R. and the independent countries of the Middle East and the Arab national liberation movement. In this scheme relations between Greece and Turkey take a back seat. Moreover, the tension between the two allies enables the United States to put pressure on each, favouring now one, now the other. Massive supplies of advanced weapons to Turkey, for instance, are viewed by the U.S. Administration as an extra lever of pressure on Greece, which has been ruled by a Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement government under Andreas Papandreou since 1981. At the same time Washington vaguely hints at possible American assistance in settling the Cyprus problem if Athens agrees to keep U.S. military bases on Greek territory after 1988, when an interim agreement on the bases expires.

The Pentagon has a number of military bases in Turkey as well. The U.S. Congress research service noted in a recent report that Turkey could be used to control air and land communication lanes between the U.S.S.R. and the Middle East and Africa. The American periodical, the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, noted that the United States viewed Turkey as a springboard in the policy of "horizontal escalation," that is, the geographical expansion of military presence, and as an outpost for military operations in the Near and Middle East or "diversionary" or "preventive" strikes in the region. A new

American military base is being built at Mus and two existing U.S. and NATO military facilities on Turkish territory are being modernized under this strategy.

The meaning of Washington's current "mediation" in disputes over the island of Lemnos becomes clear in this context. Serious tensions initially provoked by the United States itself in relations between Greece and Turkey made the Greek government take measures to consolidate its military position on Lemnos. Ankara is protesting against this activity, viewing it as an attempt to establish a beachhead close to the Turkish border. Regular NATO military exercises (with the participation of Turkey), during which Greek airspace over its Aegean islands is systematically violated, are further escalating these tensions.

Then Washington comes on as an umpire. It has offered, as a "compromise", to

deploy American "support forces" on Lemnos, while NATO Supreme Commander in Europe, General Bernard Rogers, has said outright that it would be a good idea to station a U.S. Marine division on the island.

Washington is also stepping up its military presence in Cyprus. While paying lip service to its territorial integrity, the United States exploited the Turkish occupation of the northern part of the island to build new Pentagon facilities there. Manipulating Greco-Turkish differences, Washington is actually perpetuating the division of Cyprus, hampering the settlement of differences between the Greek and Turkish communities on the island and subverting the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

At a recent seminar on American-Turkish relations in Turkey a U.S. spokesman called upon Ankara to become Tel Aviv's "potential ally." He even asked in an ultimatum-like form: what would Turkey prefer, the PLO or more American military aid? The Americans were pushing hard at the seminar for the establishment of a new military alliance of Turkey, Egypt, Jordan and Israel, naturally under American control and effectively directed against other Middle East countries.

Washington is now increasing pressure on Turkey in particular because the Pentagon views it as an ideal base for American cruise missiles. Moreover, Ankara is being urged "to show its mettle" and state its readiness to accept at least four more American bases on Turkish territory to replace those the U.S. now has in Greece (if they are eventually dismantled). At the same time pressure is being exerted on Athens in different forms to preserve the U.S. military bases in Greece after 1988.

Pursuing its policy of neoglobalism in the Eastern Mediterranean, Washington is standing in the way of a settlement of the protracted Cyprus problem, which is in the interests of the entire population of the island.

That is why the U.S. Administration opposed the Soviet proposal to normalize the situation in Cyprus and the Mediterranean as a whole. The demilitarization of the island and effective international guarantees for its independence and the peaceful coexistence of the Greek and Turkish communities do not fit in with the American plans to turn Cyprus into its own and NATO's base in the Eastern Mediterranean, on the threshold of the Middle East and close to the Soviet border.

Washington, to all appearances, intends to continue its policy of preparing the ground for the realization of its hegemonistic plans at the expense of the national interests of other countries. The Americans think least of all about the immediate damage inflicted by such an attitude on both the independence of Cyprus and relations between Greece and Turkey. Moreover, Washington is trying in every conflict to create antagonisms between different states in order to achieve positions of dominance through a policy of divide and rule, and tensions in Greek-Turkish relations effectively illustrate this.

E. RYABTSEV

Helping Hand

It happened that in the spring of 1941 Sind Parpisha, an Afghan, then 20 years old, visited his relatives in Soviet Tajikistan. He had hoped to be away for a month or two but years were to pass before he returned home. The moment the news of the war reached the Pamirs Sind volunteered to fight with the Red Army. On V-Day Sind, a tommy gunner, was a mere ten kilometres from Berlin. By that time he had accumulated four Soviet war decorations and four war wounds.

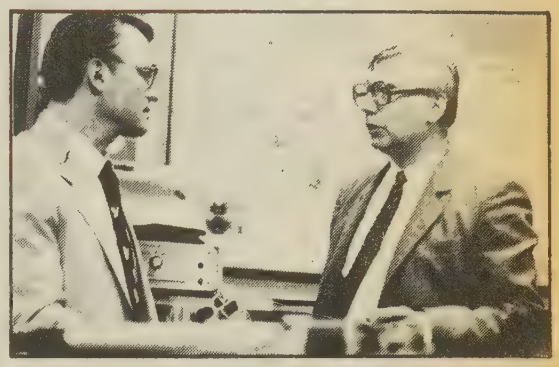
Only recently, as a member of an Afghan trade union delegation, Sind Parpisha visited Minsk, which he had helped to liberate. He met workers at the local tractor plant and saw the sights but barely recognized the city. He recalled: "When we freed Minsk it was almost completely in ruins. Now in this handsome modern city, we watched Soviet people hard at work and in a way saw an image of our future."

The Afghan trade union delegation had come to the U.S.S.R. to learn from Soviet experience. Relations between the trade unions of our two countries become closer with every passing year. Thus, 6,200 Afghan boys and girls have already holidayed at Soviet health resorts and another 1,500 or so are to come this summer; and this is only one example. Interviewed by New Times, Abdul Sattar Pordely, president of the Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions, said: "The Soviet Union and, more specifically, the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, is giving us moral, not to mention material, support. Many of our activists have studied in your country. Relying on the experience and help of our great neighbour, we are defending the achievements of the April revolution from the counterrevolutionary gangs, eradicating illiteracy and building a new life."

Members of the Afghan delegation in Moscow. Right to left: Abdul Sattar Pordely, Saef Mushtabad, Sind Parpisha and Horsi Mohammad Asef.

Photo by V. Galin

Automation and Robots



Due to the acceleration of our country's socio-economic progress, labour productivity in the national economy as a whole will have grown 2.3-2.5 times by the year 2000. This will be achieved for the most part thanks to automation. Rotary and rotary-conveyer lines, to be introduced on a wide scale, will effect a dramatic improvement in work efficiency.

In the interview that follows, Professor LEONID VOLCHKEVICH, Committee Chairman of the All-Union Council of Scientific and Engineering Societies concerned with production process automation and modernization, tells our correspondent Yuri Samoilov about the prospects for automation.

— A robot pianist playing from a sheet of music and a robot artist drawing portraits by means of a computer and a technical vision system created quite a stir at the EXPO'85 world exhibition in Japan. Many think it will not be too long before robots like these take over from human musicians and artists.

— No matter how perfect, a robot will never replace man with his unique individuality without which there can be no art. All a robot can do is assume some of man's functions. This is already a reality. However, such robots cost quite a lot to make. Why, then, you may ask, do certain U.S., Japanese and West European companies spend so much money on building robots, of no practical value at all? This is done for the sake of publicity so as to secure a foothold on a competitive market. More often than not, such robots advertise products which have little if anything to do with robotics. Expecting a robot pianist to acquire, by and by, the feeling it now lacks in performing Chopin would be frivolous, to say the least. Scientists and engineers do not make artificial souls even in sci-fi novels, let alone in real life.

— But surely there is no denying the fact that modern robots are impressive. In twenty years or so they have learned to weld, paint and do other jobs which man alone was able to perform in the past. This is much talked and written about today. One cannot help getting the impression that robots will eventually conquer the world, although today they constitute only a drop in the ocean of the machines and mechanisms used. Despite a high level of robotic output, their proportion to the total machine fleet changes insignificantly. What role, do you think, will robots play in the automation of production in the foreseeable future?

— This role will be much less important than many think. The myth of the robot's omnipotence has been put about for the same reasons of publicity. It has proved so tenacious of life that, despite their numerous failures in industrial applications, robots have retained their appeal to laymen and technologists alike. As a result, some extremely promising research trends have been undeservedly relegated to the background. But now the situation is changing. Robot worshippers are coming down to earth. Robots will be used in industry on a par with automatic machine tools and automatic production lines, including rotary and rotary-conveyer ones, and teamed up with other equipment. While steadily reducing in cost, robots are gaining in efficiency and reliability and this will promote their wider use. Nevertheless, they often prove economically inexpedient.

Towards the end of the current five-year period we are to put into operation about 2,000 robotic complexes and about as many flexible automated production systems which will appreciably reduce the number of monotonous and unskilled jobs, and bring about a radical reduction in the proportion of manual labour.

— Are you of the opinion that if a robot does not justify itself economically, using it would be a scientific and technological step backward rather than forward?

— If economic indicators do not improve, this means, in the final analysis, that a robot requires more effort to build, operate and maintain than it saves. Like any other machine, robots are supposed to improve product quality, increase output, cut production costs and reduce the work force. Otherwise they are of no use.

— But surely one cannot assess everything in terms of economics!

— No country has enough money, resources or technical facilities to change over to robotics right across the board. Therefore, robots should be used only where they can yield maximum overall effect, both economic and social. Today, robots are at their best in welding, painting, electroplating, and other jobs. They do all this more efficiently, improve the quality of end products, and release human operators from unhealthy work zones. This trend towards the priority development of assembly-line robots was confirmed by the international robotics congress held in Brno, Czechoslovakia, in March this year.

— What about robots designed to operate machine tools? Until quite recently the industry placed the main emphasis on them.

— The early industrial robots were indeed designed to carry out operations like picking up a blank, inserting it into a machine tool and taking a finished component out. Not that loading and unloading were the hardest jobs workers had to be relieved of in the first instance, as one often hears. These jobs were simply the easiest to imitate. Quite a few robots built to date only manipulate parts weighing no more than five kilos. They are of little help to the worker, and neither improve the quality of end products nor increase

their output. Installing them in a factory shop involved modernizing machine tools, moving them apart, and changing bay layouts. Therefore, most of these individual robots hardly pay. This does not mean, though, that they should be given up altogether. The record of operations by robot loaders shows that they justify themselves, on the whole, as robotic complexes incorporated into industrial plant. Such a complex usually consists of several robot-attended machine tools, a conveyer, and a master computer.

— Hopes for the early advent of adaptive robots equipped with artificial sensory organs have not materialized so far. Robots functioning strictly to a pre-set programme are still with us. Why so?

— This is not the first case of a forecast failing to come true. The problems associated with the development of robots capable of adapting on their own to changing work conditions have proved too difficult. Besides, modern production in most cases can manage with rather simple and cheap automatic devices operating to fixed programmes. As distinct from electronic computers every new generation of which ousts the previous one, no matter what headway robotics makes there will always remain something to do for the simplest non-programmed manipulators, for first- and second-generation robots.

— The creation of microprocessors is believed to have given the impetus to impressive progress in robotics. However, most industrial robots now in operation do not use them.

— There are two reasons for this: the scarcity of microprocessors and their relative inadequacy. Indeed, the revolution in microelectronics held out truly breathtaking prospects for robotics. You don't have to prepare a new programme each time you set a new function to a microprocessor-equipped robot. Several standard programmes can be stored in the computer, and the one required summoned by a push of a button (if this is not done automatically). This is the advantage the best specimens of such programmed robots have over the other kinds. But the main thing is that, owing to their miniature size and low cost, microprocessors have provided a strong stimulus to the development of adaptive robots. Fitted out with pickups including technical vision and other artificial sensory organs, they find increasing use in flexible production lines which can be promptly geared to the manufacture of new products. Great importance is attached to the development of such lines in the world today.

— Will they supplant the automatic lines industry has been using for years?

— Automatic lines, though not all of them, really only come into their own in mass production. Most of them are intended for the production of just one item. In order to change over to another item, you have to scrap the old line and put up a new one instead. Today mass production can no longer exist in its traditional forms. The practice of producing, say, one and the same car model for 15-20 years, as was formerly the case, is no longer acceptable. The model becomes outdated. Scientific and technological progress has stepped up product modernization rates to a tremendous extent. Consequently, the need has arisen to make mass production flexible. Readjustments will take time, of course, and two types of production—flexible and inflexible—will have to coexist for a while.

I am convinced that even if a fraction of the money and effort spent worldwide on turning conventional machine tools into numerically controlled (NC) ones were channelled into making automatic production lines flexible, the situation in industry would be entirely different from what it is now. The plants would already have flexible automatic lines which are cheaper and more efficient than NC machine tools.

— How much, do you think, rotary and rotary-conveyer lines can contribute to the current process of production automation?

— Greatly. Created in the U.S.S.R. by Academician Lev Koshkin over thirty years ago, they somehow haven't yet gained due recognition despite their enormous efficiency. In our country they process and assemble radio and camera components, harden electrodes, make frankfurters and meat dumplings and a great variety of other products. Academician Koshkin told me that while on a visit to France he had been to a plant that produces sprayer valves. The plant employs over 400 workers while its counterpart in Riga, fitted out with a rotary-conveyer line, only has two. A worker assembles 1,500-2,000 valves per shift by hand; a robot's efficiency is about the same; and a rotary-conveyer line does this in 2-3 minutes.

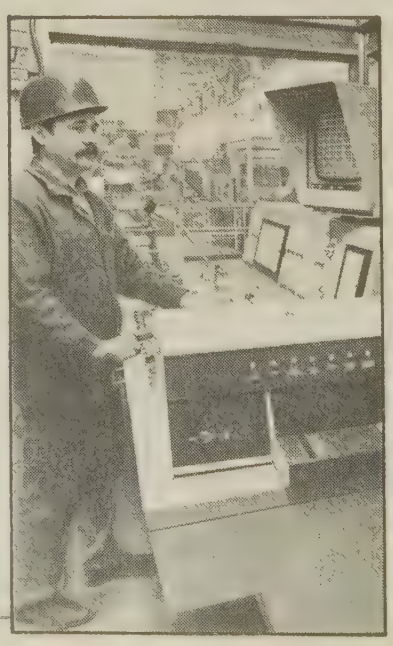
— So the efficiency of Koshkin lines on this job exceeds that of robotic assembly units hundreds of times over, doesn't it? How is such an oustanding performance achieved?

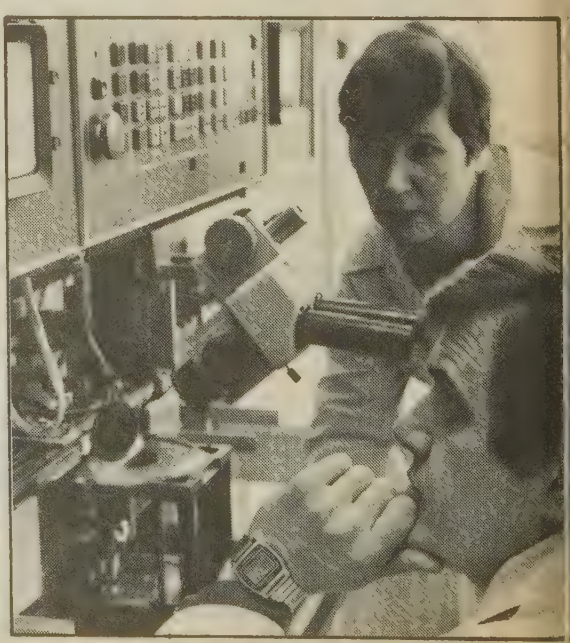
— The line moves continuously rather than intermittently, with numerous tools assembling dozens of valves simultaneously. The various operations are perfectly timed. Automatic beverage-bottling lines operate on roughly the same principle. Bottles are fed to a rotating table, filled, corked and labelled nonstop. Therein lies the difference in principle between rotary and other production lines—flexible ones included—on which a component spends more time travelling from station to station than being actually processed or otherwise treated. It makes no difference whether it is carried by a human worker or by a robot. Therefore, equipping a plant with robot loaders does not raise its efficiency standard, as a rule. On the contrary, because of the robot's slowness this standard is often lower than in the case of manual loading.

— But aren't such rotary lines intended for non-flexible mass production?

— That's right, they were initially designed for this type of production. But today the design office headed by

Production in the Soviet Union is becoming increasingly automated. This is seen as the main factor making for higher labour productivity.





Academician Koshkin imparts to some of them the flexibility they have hitherto lacked so that they could be changed over to the manufacture of new products and even make several different products at the same time. No robot complex is capable of that so far. It makes only a certain kind of product, and a change in its "specialization" requires elaborate readjustments.

I must make it clear that rotary and rotary-conveyer lines cannot, and should not, be used indiscriminately. They have their limitations as to the weight and shape of the components they can handle and the operations they can perform. So far they are not being used on the scale they should. This is explained by the inertia in some designers' thinking, their conservatism and, in a number of cases, their naive faith in the omnipotence of electronic computers and industrial robots.

— Am I to understand that you do not quite approve of the course international science and technology have taken in the field of automation?

— Yes, I consider this course most unfortunate. For years, there have coexisted two types of production: highly automated and highly productive inflexible mass production, on the one hand, and flexible manual production, on the other. The world has got down to automating manual production by equipping it with robots and electronic computers, although top priority should have been given to making automatic lines and other automatic machine systems flexible. Unfortunately, this work has been greatly delayed and is not being done assiduously enough, anywhere in the world.

— There are reports that integrated production plants have appeared recently in the West. What are these, and how do they work?

— This is still a theoretical question because, I am quite sure, there are no such plants anywhere yet. The reports you refer to are mere wishful thinking. In flexible automated production all the operations—from designing right through to manufacturing, storage and shipping—should be automated. Until quite recently, individual departments of flexible automated production have been developing in isolation from one another. Each has achieved certain successes. Today we have reliable automatic designing systems and flexible production lines— but no automatic plants combining the two. The plants of the future cannot be built by merely bringing together various automatic systems and automatic factory shops already in operation. They will represent an entirely new stage of industrial progress. I am sure that for all the difficulties involved in making them a reality, automatic plants will appear as early as the nineties of this century.

Within five years, 3,000 research and development organizations in our country are expected to create automated design systems which will save over five billion rubles.

— What will the manufacturing process be like at such an integrated plant?

— The traditional drawing board will be replaced by a computer visual display unit. A designer will enter all the initial data in a computer which will help him try out all the possible versions of the unit he is devising and select the best one. Since the standard routines of manufacturing this or that component will be put into the computer's memory in advance, the designer will not have to rack his brains for the way to make it. The manufacturing technique will be decided upon by the computer, whereupon a programme will be drawn up automatically and, without any technical drawings, fed into the production plant's master computer. Manufactured products are assembled, inspected for quality, stored and shipped automatically.

— A wide-ranging programme for production automation has been adopted in the Soviet Union. Cooperation with other socialist countries—CMEA members—will certainly contribute to its implementation.

— Certainly. Joint work in this field has been in progress since the mid-seventies as part of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The Interrobot research and production amalgamation has recently been set up to give an extra impetus to it. Its chief objective is to apply the joint efforts of engineers and scientists to the development of automatic equipment superior to the best foreign makes. This work will be coordinated by Robot interbranch scientific and technological complex set up in the U.S.S.R recently to pool the efforts of six industrial ministries, the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Higher Education of the U.S.S.R. This organization will be Interrobot's headquarters.

Division of labour and specialization in manufacturing certain kinds of robots make for more rapid realization of industrial automation programmes in each CMEA country and for a saving in manpower, financial and material resources. Bulgaria is to specialize in robots for the application of various coatings and assembling individual engineering and electronic items; Hungary, in robots for control and measuring operations and instrument-making; Poland, in welding robots; Czechoslovakia, in die-casting and assembly robots. The Soviet Union will make robots for the metalworking industry and foundry practice.

— And now the last question which has to do with your work as a professor and head of department at Moscow's Bauman Higher Technical School: what new tasks do higher educational establishments face in connection with the current emphasis on industrial automation?

— As a result of narrow specialization engineers of different specialities have a hard time understanding each other. Automation calls for the pooling of their efforts. Therefore the task now is to train engineers well-versed in various fields—not at the expense of their special knowledge, of course. Within the next few years each engineer is supposed to become as expert at handling electronic computers as he is at technical drawing. For all that, the ability to operate a computer is not an end in itself but a means of developing new equipment. It will never substitute fundamental knowledge of technology and designing. ■

TASS photo

After Baby Doc

RUSLAN TUCHNIN

On June 10 Haiti was swept by a nationwide strike. This would have been unthinkable only six months ago. Recent weeks have seen a rash of political demonstrations in the capital Port-au-Prince, in Cap Haitien, Gonaives and other cities. There have been angry crowds, barricades, fierce clashes with riot police. All this is taking place in a country whose people groaned under the cruel Duvalier family dictatorship for almost thirty years when not only open protest against the authorities but even meek criticism provided grounds for arrest, torture, murder or "disappearance."

Safety Valve

The people of Haiti have just awakened to political life but the ruling elite is already busy behind the scenes attempting to nip it in the bud. While the U.S. Ambassador in Port-au-Prince who on February 7 offered his plane to Baby Doc, the dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier, was ironing out the last details of the tyrant's escape across the Atlantic, the upper echelons of the military were sharing out government posts. Generals and colonels who had been pushed aside by the tontons macoutes (the security police) but who had served the dictator loyally scrambled to take over control of the state.

To politically inexperienced Haitians, soldiers from barracks looked less odious than the rabid tontons macoutes. So the appearance of the military in government was at first accepted as the lesser evil. And some quarters even welcomed the army.

Few people realized at the time that the reactionary military, who had seized key positions in the country, were entrusted with the mission of keeping the people in a vice to prevent mass movements from overflowing the bounds set by Washington and the local oligarchy.

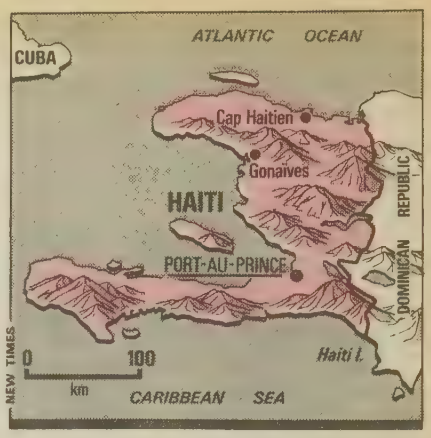
This was the reason the Reagan Administration dismissed the bankrupt Duvalier Jr. and sent him to the Old World. The Administration's think tank believed that a safety valve had to be openend in the seething Haitian cauldron if a devastating social explosion was to be prevented.

Following the evacuation of Baby Dock, the "big" U.S. press wrote of the need to fill the "political vacuum" in Haiti. This assessment had a grain of truth in it: the Duvalier regime had been so ferocious, its enemies had been destroyed on such a scale and with such brutality (50,000 murders) that in the early days after the tyrant's fall the political arena looked like a desert in which the only visible object was the army barracks. It was from the barracks that the generals and colonels who had formed the elite of the dictatorial regime emerged to claim the role of the country's saviours from chaos.

Old Characters in a New Role

No wonder, therefore, that the military rulers led by General Henry Namphy are bent on preserving their privileges, are impeding a departure from the principles of Duvalier, and, as before, serving the interests of the U.S. The ruling triumvirate (after reshuffles, it also includes Colonel Regala and Jacques François, a lawyer) has declared that its mission is to preserve law and order but has come up with no political platform of its own. The behaviour of the National Council of Government shows that it is unwilling to make any essential changes. Talk about demanding the extradition of the runaway tyrant to the new authorities, the return of the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of dollars he stole from the Treasury, and bringing his associates to trial was left suspended in mid-air and gradually petered out.

Meanwhile, the new authorities became increasingly cruel. From sporadic clashes with demonstrators the military passed on to the systematic dispersal of demonstrations which began to take a bloody toll of dead and wounded. The massacre at Fort Dimanche Prison was a milestone. On April 26 thousands of the capital's inhabitants came to pay tribute to the victims of the former tyranny. They were met with a hail of bullets. Eight people were killed and 58 wounded. This put an end to the last hopes of those who still believed in



the good intentions of the new rulers.

The shots at Fort Dimanche were the final straw. Spontaneous mass action flared up all over the country, raising the political temperature to a critical level. In this situation there was a nationwide response to the call by numerous opposition organizations for a national strike.

In an eleventh-hour political move to prevent it General Namphy announced that presidential and local elections would be held next year. He made this promise in the same way as his uniformed predecessors had done many times before when they felt their dictatorial chair beginning to shake. The handover of power to the new president is scheduled for 1988. And in the meantime, so the military rulers think, a lot of water will have flowed under the bridge.

Patrons of the regime in Washington are also playing for time. There were no two opinions in the White House about the heirs to Baby Doc. It was decided to keep them in power for as long as circumstances permit and to have them play the role of policemen for as long as possible.

It takes time to create a new system of government, said Elliott Abrams, Assistant U.S. Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, when he visited Port-au-Prince to instruct his politically unsophisticated charges. And lest Namphy and his entourage should have doubts about U.S. benevolence, the Washington diplomat stated with soldierly bluntness that Haiti needed a modern professional army in order to maintain order (as the French newspaper Le Monde reported) and the U.S. was ready to help Haiti train and arm its troops.

According to Washington's scenario, the next stage was to find a leader who could assert himself as its "own man" on a social soil cultivated by terror. Not that choosing such a

politician presents any difficulty: during the dictatorship one in six Haitians had left the country, and there were many people among the million émigrés who would suit the Washington Administration.

After the fall of Duvalier many of these people returned home to plunge into the political whirlpool. According to journalists, there are over a hundred claimants to the post of president, although very often they represent parties whose membership could be counted on the fingers of one hand. "Long Live Me and My Friends!" was how one of them frankly formulated his credo in graffiti. Along with the neophytes there are also more experienced politicians from the Christian Democratic, Christian Social and Democratic Action parties.

Washington gave its preference to Marc Bazin, a Haitian who had for many years served in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development run by big American capital. Bazin's credentials, in the eyes of the U.S. rulers, are that he had been trained by financial tycoons. The fact that he was for a while Minister for the Economy, Finance and Industry under the dictatorship of Duvalier Jr., did not matter. In fact, there was nothing wrong with it: he would make a diligent servant.

The Catholic Church is an important factor on the political scene in Haiti today. In these troubled times it would not be averse to making a bid to replace the capitalist parties as the chief influence on the masses. "The real problem is social inequality, inequality in the distribution of the national wealth." This is the kind of language now being spoken by the Archbishop of Port-au-Prince, François Ligonde, a cousin of the ex-dictator's wife who represents the "Duvalier" wing among the clergy.

And the episcopal conference goes even further, demanding "certain reforms," specifically, the redistribution of land, a reduction in unemployment, the eradication of illiteracy, and respect for human rights. Although the majority of the rank-and-file Catholic clergy have not yet embraced "liberation theology" many of them, having been persecuted by the tyranny, are taking a progressive stand.

Variant of Neoglobalism?

The situation in Haiti is tense and explosive. The ruling triumvirate, thoroughly discredited in the eyes of millions of Haitians, is living through a grave crisis, although it continues to cling to the reins (or rather, the bonanza) of power. Its social base has shrunk to a frightened band of members of the oligarchy and supporters of "Duvalierism without Duvalier." General Namphy is trying to scare the people with the spectre of disaster ("the country is on the verge of anarchy," "a prelude to civil war,") but few people listen to him. The belated sop of promised elections has not worked.

Even the Washington masters of the military elite are beginning to express doubts about its ability to control the situation for much longer. It is not out of charity that the U.S. allocated $400,000 to Haiti last March ostensibly to ensure stability and internal security. In the middle of June the Reagan Administration gave the Haitian government another $20 million to prevent a budgetary crisis. More money is in the pipeline to finance the training and arming of the Haitian police. The White House fears that the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere where many people have no means of livelihood, where three fourths of the able-bodied population are unemployed, the economy is in total disarray and the Treasury empty—that this devastated and ransacked land could form a source of danger to the U.S.'s national interests.

Washington policy makers are already considering which variant of neoglobalism should be applied to the Haitian people. According to the London newspaper The Sunday Times "The United States has a contingency plan for an American peace-keeping force to be sent to Haiti in an emergency." And quarters close to the Pentagon openly declare that the 7,700-strong Haitian army and police "are not trained in how to handle the growing number of disturbances." It is also known that the Washington diplomats have sounded out the Organization of American States about sending an armed contingent to Haiti under the flag of the OAS in the same way as was done during the U.S. occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1965.

In the face of this real external danger, the government crisis in Haiti and possible counterattack by internal reactionaries, the question of the unity of progressive forces assumes vital and decisive significance for the people. According to René Théodore, the General Secretary of the United Party of Haitian Communists which began to operate openly, the party is now active in the National Democratic Alliance which seeks to unite the country's democratic forces to secure and develop the gains of February 7. It demands the immediate dissolution of the present government and the formation of a new cabinet from among the members of genuinely democratic organizations.

The challenges facing Haitian patriots are formidable. But they are optimistic about the future and confident of the triumph of their righteous cause—genuine freedom and independence for their people. ■

Police brutality on the streets of Port-au-Prince.

TASS photo

THE AMERICAN DREAM

On July 4 America celebrates itself. The America that is arrogant and ambitious, prosperous and poverty-stricken, freedom-loving and oppressed, enlightened and ignorant, self-satisfied and disillusioned, creative and destructive, hopeful and cynical, projected to the future and living in the past.

The American model of government is the "world's best hope," Thomas Jefferson said in 1801. Warren Harding, speaking in 1921, saw "God's intent in the making of this new-world republic." In no other country does the government merit such respect, maintained Herbert Hoover in 1929. "The peoples of the earth... look to the United States as never before for good will, strength and wise leadership," Harry Truman proclaimed in 1949. And now Ronald Reagan holds that America, a "city upon a hill," is the "last, best hope of man on earth."

As we see, U.S. presidents have never been distinguished for modesty. For 210 years now they have been inculcating in their compatriots blind belief in American exceptionalism and hence in the right of the U.S. to impose on others the American way of life, to measure everything in the world by the American yardstick.

The dream farsightedly nurtured by the American System among its subjects is also pivoted on this belief.

Thomas Jefferson cited what Caesar said about using money to buy people and people to make money. Yet in drafting the Declaration of Independence the founding father and future president amended the formula of the natural rights of man advanced by the English philosopher Locke from "life, liberty and property" to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." True, as the Canadian scholar Professor Friedenberg has observed, the founding fathers hardly had any doubt that the possession of a large fortune made the pursuit of happiness far easier.

Freedom and wealth at the expense of others. To ponder over this is considered in the United States to be in bad taste. No wonder then that for many Americans the American dream has been a medal with the myth of individual freedom on one side and the fiction that wealth is within the reach of all on the other.

To these there have latterly been added visions of a different order—of a world without wars, without the spectre of nuclear destruction, of a world at peace, the only world in which the most cherished dreams of every inhabitant of the planet Earth can come true.

Who are the most dissatisfied with the America of today? The Americans. Who hold it in the highest esteem? The Americans.

America is celebrating itself. We see it as it is.

For Whom the "Golden Door" Is Open

Our New York correspondent Andrei ARKHIPOV takes a closer look at "liberty parade"

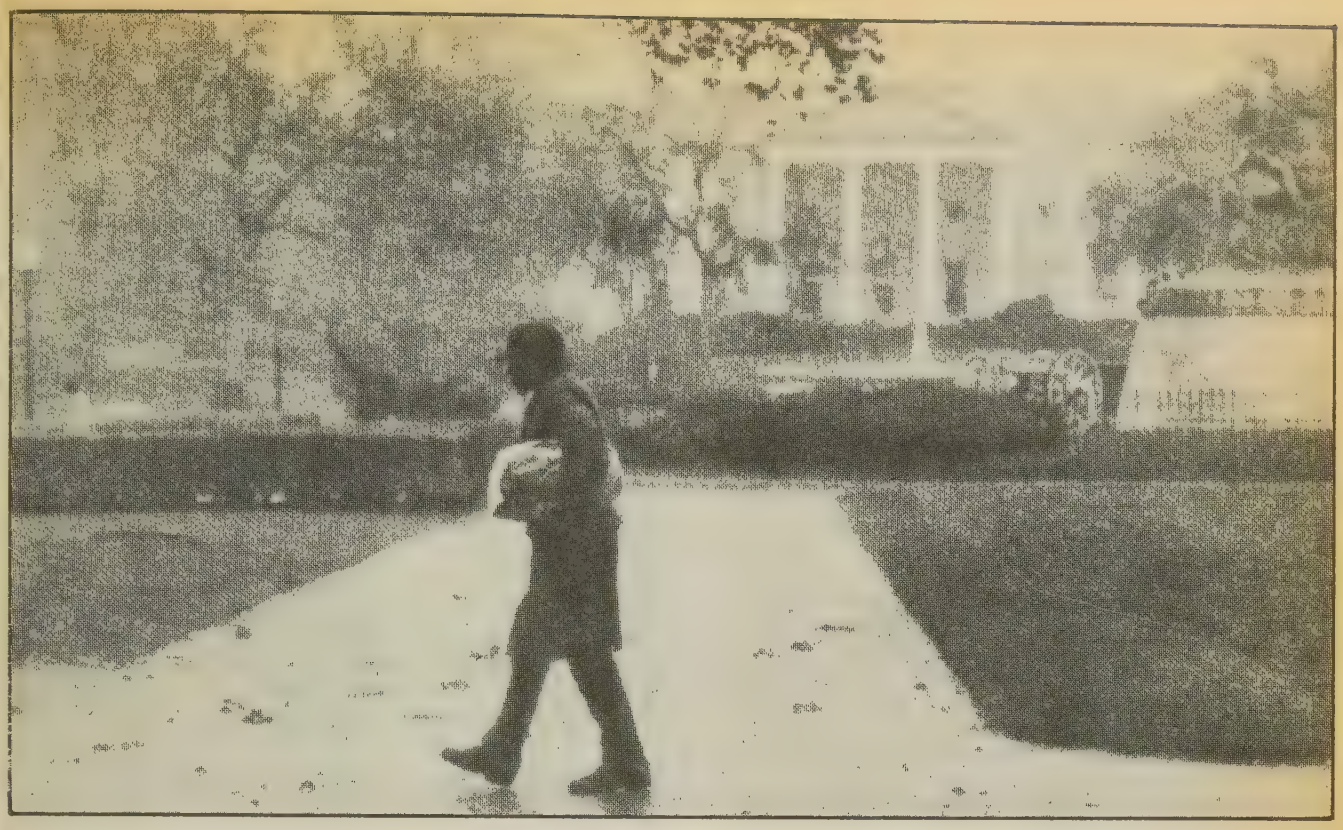
The centennial of the Statue of Liberty—the "grand old lady" the Americans received as a gift from France—will actually fall on October 28. But that will be only a week before the elections to the Senate and the election campaign could reveal so much about the real America that jubilee celebrations could seem incongruous. Hence Washington has decided to time the completion of restoration work on the statue standing at the mouth of the Hudson to coincide with Independence Day, July 4.

Guests have been invited from all over the world. Not very selectively, chiefly with an eye to ensuring a massive turnout and to heighten the symbolism of the event. This explains, for one thing, why there has been no official reaction to the indignation caused by the news that the Chilean ship Esmeralda, which Pinochet has used as a floating torture dungeon, would take part in the naval parade planned for the occasion.

Symbolic too was the cartoon that appeared in a Philadelphia newspaper depicting a cluster of skyscrapers plastered with Chrysler, Kodak and Coca Cola signs and in their midst the torch upheld by the Statue of Liberty, visible to none but the corporations. The statue has indeed been caught in the web of conflicting financial interests. Only recently the states of New York and New Jersey were squabbling over which of them would profit from the proceeds of the anticipated influx of tourists. The enterprising ABC television network was the first to realize how much money could be made on symbols and acquired for $10 million the exclusive right to televise the proceedings. And for the right to stand next to Reagan on board the aircraft carrier that will lead the festive flotilla, the charge is $5,000, moreover, only two tickets can be bought at once.

Thus, the whole jubilee is a commercial, money-making proposition. From beginning to end.

"In the land of show biz," Jonathan Yardley comments in the Washington Post, "every occasion, no matter how solemn, must be inflated to the outer limits of garishness and thereby rendered wholly trivial. They [Americans who believe in the magic powers of Miss Liberty—A.A.] don't know that there is a buck to be made out there, especially when the buck comes wrapped around a symbol of national



Everyone has a dream: this man on his way past the White House...

identity as potent as Miss Liberty. They do not know that what matters now is not the meaning of the ceremony, but the ceremony itself, the glitter, the glitz, the empty self-satisfaction masquerading as patriotism."

The restorers, who were paid from donations by Americans who sincerely believe in the ideal of freedom and by corporations prompted by their own interests, gilded the inscription on the base of the statue: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free. I lift my lamp beside the golden door." The White House made these lines by Emma Lazarus the pivotal point of its propaganda campaign designed to persuade the world that the United States is indeed the "promised land."

Actually, the United States opens its doors to far from everyone. At the immigration service offices in downtown Manhattan I obtained an illuminating publication entitled "Guide to Immigration Benefit." It contains a mass of regulations which of course will not figure in either the President's jubilee oration or in other festive speeches. For one thing, the "golden door" opens only once to let in an immigrant from the semi-colonial, dependent countries for every 33 times it admits newcomers from all other parts of the world. But if you pay an "admission fee" of $40,000 to help liven up America's economy you are accepted no matter where you were born. Individuals "of exceptional ability in the arts or sciences" are welcome. Incidentally, in less than 10 years since the mid-1970s this brain drain has enabled the U.S. to save $5 billion on the training of doctors, engineers and researchers.

As regards the poor, the homeless and the hungry, it is not to them that the jubilee oratory will be devoted. "They won't be at the big July 4th celebration," Newsday writes, nor will there be any place in the "liberty parade" for the 20 million hungry, the 8.5 million unemployed, the 3 million homeless, or the 30 million whom the Administration itself classifies as living below the poverty line. For them the sesame of well-being did not open at the wave of a magic wand.

The U.S. leaders are constantly talking about "those who yearn for freedom." Let us take another look at the "Guide to Immigration Benefit." The application form for entry into the U.S. pinpoints only one of the entire range of political affiliations and beliefs: are you a Communist, or are you associated with a Communist organization? If so, entry for permanent residence is ruled out. And the discrimination does not end there. At the New York Centre for Constitutional Rights I was shown a court finding in the case of Haitians seeking refuge in the United States from persecution by the Haitian dictator, from which it follows that the decision to grant or deny permission to enter the country rests with the immigration officials.

I also looked in at another organization, the Centre for Immigrant Rights. Why should there be such an organization in a country that professes to be a paradise for immigrants?

Mary Dugen, in charge of the collection of donations for the organization, told me: "Despite all the talk about generosity, and despite the fact that the country was built up by immigrants the authorities often harass them, cultivate prejudice. This is especially true of the Reagan Administration. Things are particularly hard for refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala, for immigrants from other Latin American countries and also from Africa. Feeling is often deliberately stirred up around immigrants from socialist countries of Europe for purely anti-socialist propaganda purposes. At the same time refugees from 'friendly' countries with fascist regimes are sent back home where they are sure to fall foul of, say, the death squads which, incidentally, are armed by us.

"Nowadays," she continued, "the authorities are clamping down on all immigrants from Third World countries. If you happen to be black you are sure to be in trouble. The Centre tries to keep all immigrant communities informed about their rights. Special attention is paid to the poor. We work

in contact with some 80 lawyers, with the Church organization and with the Manhattan coalition for immigrant rights, which also arranges for medical aid to the under-privileged."

"Besides handling questions relating to immigration procedures you also deal with problems of immigrants who have already settled here?"

"Yes. Many who have lived here for as long as 20 years without the necessary papers sometimes suddenly find themselves in trouble with the immigration authorities."

"Yours is not the only organization of its kind, is it?"

"Certainly not. We have set up national and regional coalitions representing Filipinos, Koreans, Chinese, Latin Americans and other groups. Sixty such organizations were represented at our last national conference in Los Angeles."

"What pressures are brought to bear on immigrants?"

"They are intimidated and isolated. They're often told: 'You'll never see your children again if you don't sign this paper' and the paper turns out to be consent to deportation. There are many cases of families being broken up when, for instance, only two of five children are allowed to enter the country."

In other words, in some cases people are penalized for trying to escape from dictators friendly to Washington, and in others, immigration becomes a political game with human destinies as the stakes. For what purpose do the CIA and the State Department finance a special "study" on potential emigrants from the Soviet Union? Unfortunately, many of the deluded and deceived find out only after the "golden door" has slammed behind them.

Not long ago one Marina S. telephoned to the New Times bureau here. After five years' experience of life in Israel and the United States she had come to see that "more than three quarters of the immigrants from the U.S.S.R. are victims of deception." The relevant Western centres are still working on her relatives in the Soviet Union. It is the CIA in league with Israel, Marina believes, that is peddling the myth of anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. There are many others like Marina. "I cannot stand this world of extreme individualism, egoism and penny-pinching," reads a letter I was shown at the offices of a newspaper published here by immigrants.

I had a talk with a Catholic priest named Tony Clark of Arizona who is charged by the U.S. authorities with providing sanctuary to a refugee from El Salvador.

"Why did the man you are charged with sheltering come to the United States?" I asked.

"For political reasons. But the authorities clearly have no intention of considering him a political refugee."

"Do you think the position of the Administration on this question can be changed?"

"Under the present President that is not likely."

In Phoenix, Arizona, where priests —activists of the Sanctuary movement— are on trial and threatened with a prison sentence, a committee of action in defence of Americans persecuted for humanism has been set up. I learned here that thousands cross the border illegally, but Tony Clark and his colleagues give sanctuary mainly to Church and trade union activists from El Salvador and Guatemala who are persecuted by the governments of these countries and who come to the U.S. to save their lives.

The trial in Arizona has spotlighted the hollowness of the commercial show the sponsors of the jubilee celebration are putting on in New York: walling themselves off from the realities of today, they are trying to invoke the shades of the past. In the opinion of Columbia University sociologist Herbert Ganz, "this can only induce a further increase in general cynicism which is already pretty high."

A severe but fair judgement of this extravagant exercise.

A century ago the Statue of Liberty, which has become the symbol of the American Dream, was brought to the New World from France. On the eve of the celebrations in New York, we asked the well-known French journalist Henri ALLEG, who has been to the United States many times, to give his view as a West European of the American Dream. Here is what he has to say.

The cost of building the statue was covered by subscription organized by the city of Paris, and the statue itself is the work of the French sculptor Frederic Bartholdi. It is in place to recall this because, judging by opinion polls, at best one in 100 Americans knows anything about the history of the statue. But the French bear no grudge. And to prove it, our best confectioners joined efforts to mark the centenary by casting in chocolate a replica of the statue weighing nearly two tons. It is intended to be eaten on the scene of the celebration, and ought to help make the jubilee orations more palatable.

Who, after all this, will venture to say that the American Dream is gone? The land of liberty and opportunity, open to the bold and the resolute, where to become a millionaire one has only to want it very much. For decades the eulogists of free enterprise have — and indeed still do — impressed this image of America on the minds of millions of people.

The reality, however, has always been quite different. "My grandfather came from Italy at the beginning of the century," an unemployed Pittsburgh metalworker told me. "In his native land they believed firmly in the American Dream. 'You're going to America, you lucky fellow,' people said. 'You'll see the streets there are paved with gold.' Later he was to say: 'Well, the streets were not paved with gold. They weren't even paved at all in some places. And I was one of those who paved them to earn my bread.' Of course, while he had a job grandpa probably lived better than at home in Calabria."

Far away from battlefields, America amassed wealth out of other people's misfortune, battened on the arms trade. And when peace was restored it again did a thriving business on postwar rehabilitation in war-torn countries. This spelled fabulous profits for a handful. For the rest it meant work, and that only until they were told that the factory was being closed down and they'd just have to wait for better times.

A Chicago municipal official once told me: "Our city is full of families with three generations of unemployed: the grandfather, father and son, or sons and daughters." Mayor Herold Washington of Chicago noted in a report published in December 1984 that more than 900,000 of the local residents (in a city with a population of three million this meant one in three) were under a constant threat of hunger, and 25,000 were living in the streets, back alleys and abandoned motor cars. What did the American Dream mean to them?

It is pointed out that there has been progress in some spheres where formerly appalling poverty was the rule, and that certain problems facing the black population are being resolved. True enough, black Americans have won greater respect at the cost of a long and bitter struggle. Race segregation laws have been rescinded and the Ku Klux Klan is no longer as powerful as it once was. But the blacks are still as poor and deprived as they ever were, which means that in the society ruled by the omnipotent dollar they are in effect subjected to the same discrimination as before. Segregation remains, though in subtler forms.

This is borne out with wry humour by a joke current among black Americans. When the "desegregation" of schools was

. . .the denizens of these skyscrapers. . .

introduced, school buses began collecting children from different neighbourhoods of the town every morning to take them to an integrated school. In one bus the children started quarrelling. The driver lost patience and intervened: "Listen here, kids. Cut it out! You've been told you are all alike, there are no more whites or blacks. To me you're all blue. Now the light-blue take the front seats and the dark-blue sit at the back." And that is why one third of the "dark-blue" Americans live below the poverty line and a third of the adults among them have no jobs.

During the civil rights march on Washington in 1963, Martin Luther King delivered a famous speech. "I have a dream that one day the sons of the former slaves and slaveowners will be able to sit down at the same table in brotherhood. I dream of the day when even the state of Mississippi, that desert of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of liberty and justice. I have a dream that some day my four children will live in a country where they will be judged not by the colour of their skin, but by their virtues as human beings." King was dreaming aloud, and at the same time calling for struggle against those who thrived on exploitation and race segregation. A few years later he paid for this with his life, cut down by a bullet fired by a racist killer.

Nevertheless, the friends of the great American people believe that the ideal of Martin Luther King lives, that another America will arise some day, an America in which there will be no oppression, no cult of brute force, which will not tolerate intervention or slaughter as was done in Vietnam and Grenada. That America will not send its mercenaries against peoples striving for freedom and progress, as in Nicaragua, Afghanistan and other countries. It will not batten on monstrous military budgets or prepare for "star wars." It will be a country where millions of people, like people everywhere, yearn for peace, prosperity and friendship.

That is the American Dream I want to believe in.

Far from all present-day immigrants, then, find a place behind the "golden door." And not for all of those who would seem to have found that place has the United States turned out to be a "promised land." Below we give the opinions of comparatively well-off Americans chosen at random who believe in the ideals inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty. What does the American Dream mean to them? What are their thoughts on the threshold of the 21st century?

Erick Mueller, 31, assistant librarian, Austin, Texas:

We were brought up to believe that hard work would give you a feeling of satisfaction and enable you to live in comfort. For me the American Dream has primarily a consumer connotation. You have a car, a house, you are comfortably off as in a TV show. Nevertheless, it seems to me that much has changed in the past 10-15 years. My father, a music teacher, was never well off.

My parents had a house, not their own, of course. They were always paying for it. They had a car. In America you must have a car unless you live in New York or Chicago, where there is public transport. Incidentally, for a house like my parents' you have to pay six times more today than in my childhood. Thus, the American Dream of my parents' generation is now beyond the reach of the average American. That dream was perhaps engendered in the postwar period when the economy was going strong and it seemed there would be no more crises or recessions.

Don Mathisen, 36, radio reporter:

What does the American Dream mean to me? It is connected with my own aims in life, with my family. From childhood I wanted to work in radio broadcasting, telling the public interesting things and introducing interesting people to them. I never had any uncertainty about what I wanted. It may be a bit harder for my family to realize the American Dream. I have an 8-year-old daughter, and in the autumn we are expecting a second child. I would like to give them all the basic things necessary in life: a decent home, education, and the things to which we have become accustomed. Opportunity to travel, and the like. I believe it is important to give children a good start in modern living. If I manage to do all this I think my American Dream will have come true.

Brad Devries, Columbia University student:

For a student like me the American Dream means getting everything I want without falling heavily in debt. The money for my tuition I mostly borrow from my parents. And although this is a loan on easy terms, it nevertheless has to be paid back.

I would like to get a doctorate. The question, however, is will I have enough patience and perseverance. Perhaps it would be better to drop my studies and look for work, a well-paid job and not merely that of a research assistant.

Joseph Oakes, 52, businessman, Los Altos, California:

My dream is to live in a world where the Americans stop hating the Russians and our mutual prejudices will die out. In my opinion the "red necks" have gained the upper hand in American politics. "It's the SDI or learn Russian!" is a current saying. I prefer the second, for I want to have Russian friends. After all, if this does not happen soon no one's dreams will come true — there will simply be nobody left in our world.

An ITT worker (he did not disclose his name) interviewed by your correspondent during a strike:

We are on strike against layoffs. We will stay out until the company grants our demands. What do I think about

the American Dream? Well, I would like to live only in this country. I have worked abroad. There are perhaps few countries where you can say whatever you please.

Andy Peters, 61, lawyer, Vermont:

We Americans believe, even subconsciously, that our dream is that eternal symbol —freedom. For instance, freedom to criticize anything you do not like. But recently I caught myself thinking that here I, for instance, am criticizing the very same people I have been electing to the White House for more than 40 years. Sometimes I even join demonstrations. But my criticism changes nothing.

Excerpts from a letter from Thomas Klein, 17, student, Blairstown, New Jersey, to the U.S. News and World Report:

With our first teetering steps into the world, we see the beautiful gifts you (the older generation) will leave us—your advances in the many fields of science and medicine, your knowledge of space exploration, your technological wonders. But we also see the horrible ills you will leave behind—ruined environments, a world population growing out of control, a huge budget deficit, a planet pocked with war and prejudice.

You have given us your wealthy stores of knowledge, but with it we must inherit your hideous nuclear arsenals.... If those problems are so great as to imperil the future of my generation, then all your gifts will have been in vain.

What I do ask of those who run our nation is simply to think of coming generations when you make your decisions. Think of me, us, those who will inherit your government, your nation, your world. Respect us as if we were voters of today. Only then will your actions take on a long-term perspective that will meet not only your needs, but the needs of future generations. Only in that way will you give us a chance to be a future generation.

Pipedreams and the Reality

Some reflections by Soviet journalist Melor STURUA who spent many years in the U.S. as a correspondent of Izvestia

First, about two encounters.

At the end of the 1960s I had occasion to interview the late Nelson Rockefeller, then governor of New York State. At the end of the interview I asked him the standard question:

"Does money bring happiness?"

"Of course not," the head of the most renowned clan of American billionaires replied without hesitation. After a brief pause he added: "Believe me, young man."

The pause and the modulation of his voice could have been a professional actor's. Evidently, Rockefeller had spoken the same words many times before.

The second encounter relates to the beginning of the eighties. I had an appointment on Euclid Street in the heart of neighbourhoods inhabited by the outcasts of the U.S. capital with Mitch Snyder, leader of a public organization that extended help to homeless Washingtonians. In the room where I met Snyder, who had declared a protest hunger strike, there was a small plexiglass box with the words "John Doe" inscribed on it. In common usage the name is given to the anonymous average American. The box contained the ashes of a homeless man who had frozen to death on a Washington street. The body was not identified and no one claimed it. Mitch and his friends had had it cremated and then placed the ashes in the miniature plexiglass coffin, which thus became the tomb of an Unknown Soldier of the multimillion army of American poor.

"How much money is needed to provide housing for all the homeless in Washington?" I asked Snyder.

"It is not a matter of money," he replied and after a pause added: "You can believe me, friend." There was nothing of the professional actor in that pause. This was the 50th day of his hunger strike, and he spoke with difficulty.

In the years I spent in the United States I met many Americans, but I never came across the American Dream. It is of course simplest of all to say that it does not exist at all. But not everything is that simple. There is an American Dream and at the same time there isn't. A paradox? Of course. Yet it is in this that the crux of the matter lies.

Let us begin with what Vladimir Mayakovsky said in his time about there being different kinds of Americans—some proletarian, others belonging to the bourgeoisie. But this too does not explain the phenomenon of the American Dream. I shall never forget seeing New York building workers beat up a demonstration of "sons of the rich" who were protesting against the aggression in Vietnam. Apart from everything else, this happened on Wall Street whose denizens—the fathers of the attacked demonstrators—leaned out of office windows to applaud the "hard-core workers." Another paradox? Yes, but without unravelling these and other similar paradoxes the American Dream will defy understanding.

It is a curious fact that the American Dream should have no parallel elsewhere in the world. There are no French, German, Russian, Indonesian, Madagascar, or other dreams. This is not a matter of chance. Why is the American Dream not shared even by all Americans? After all, there is also a South America and a Central America. Why has the United States usurped both the word "America" and the dream? This too is not by chance.

The roots of this usurpation are traceable to the exceptionalism which the U.S. ruling elite has been cultivating ever since the birth of the country, and which has been greedily swallowed by the whole of society, even though the hungry and the sated have no common language. The well-known U.S. writer Lance Morrow speaks of the maniacal tendency of his compatriots to think of themselves as either the best or the worst of all peoples. I cannot say that I particularly noted the latter inclination in Americans. But the former truly flourishes.

President Ronald Reagan likes to call the United States "a city upon a hill" (a description that originated with the 17th-century Puritan John Winthrop). The "city upon a hill" is a twin of the American Dream. It too is an expression of exceptionalism carried to the extreme of chauvinism. But it also has a hidden meaning: the object is to imbue the citizens of the United States with a sense of unity and equality. According to the American Dream, both Nelson Rockefeller and John Doe lived in the same "city upon a hill." One "a little" higher up, the other "a little" lower down. But on the whole the hill is one and the same, and, hence, so is the dream.

If you ask an American what he yearns for, the answer, as a rule, ir-

... and this child timidly stepping out into the bewildering adult world.

respective of differences of emphasis, is one: success. And wealth is the measure of success. (This is the reply given by precisely those Americans whom success and wealth have bypassed.) And if you ask Americans what the American Dream is, the answer as like as not will be: freedom. This brings to mind Schiller's bitter observation that freedom exists only in dreamland. The social purpose of the American Dream is to create the illusion of freedom. (The reader will surely forgive me for simplifying, for the sake of brevity, the complex processes at work in the vast United States with its population of 240 million).

Lance Morrow observes that if the Eskimos have 100 words for "snow," the Americans ought to have 500 words for "freedom." I do not know about the Eskimos, but I do know that the Americans have as many synonyms for "freedom" as the number of people on the records of the U.S. census bureau at any given moment. But here quantity does not develop into quality. Positive quality. The more "freedoms" America has, the fewer freedoms have the Americans. FBI director Webster and Leonard Peltier could tell the world a great deal on this score. Incidentally, both the FBI headquarters and the prison in which Peltier is confined are "upon the hill."

The American Dream is an illusory bridge between millions of mutually exclusive liberties. Every individual is free to live, as the popular song goes, on the sunny side of the street, just like Rockefeller. But where there is light there is also shadow. Even pitch-black darkness. The John Doe whose last resting place is the plexiglass casket on Washington's Euclid Street lived and died on a street where the humiliated and downtrodden spend their nights and where the American Dream had not even been heard of. One cannot but recall the cutting words of Anatole France who spoke of all being equal before the law, which forbids both the poor and the rich to sleep under bridges.

And finally—although the subject is inexhaustible—there is the dream of peace. Could it be the equivalent of the American Dream? After all, no one, neither the rich man nor the poor man, wants to die, and least of all in a nuclear missile holocaust. It turns out, however, that even the yearning for peace is not the American Dream. First, because all peoples want peace. And, second, because the military-industrial complex and the man in the street, to which category the Rockefellers do not belong, have widely different ideas about peace. The former dreams—if the word can be used in this context—of a Pax Americana, the latter simply of peace, a world flooded with sunlight, not with laser beams, of a starry sky, not "star wars." But here too it is by no means a black-and-white picture. In the United States one can often come across people intoxicated by jingoism. On the other hand, my acquaintance with another Rockefeller—David Rockefeller, former chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank—shows that what are called sober-minded ruling quarters are not simply rings on the water, but a very tangible factor. Indicatively enough, I met David Rockefeller at one of the Dartmouth meetings.

Let us draw a few conclusions. The American Dream is the firebird of fairy tale. The dreams of the Americans are a flock of real and different birds—cranes and tomtits, hawks and doves. But it would be an unforgivable mistake to discount the firebird only because it is a fiction. For everyone tries to catch it by the tail. Indeed, it was let loose precisely in order to encage the dreams of the overwhelming majority of the Americans.

Compiled by G. SIDOROVA

Photos from Dagens Nyheter (Sweden) and U.S. News and World Report

The Indefatigable Antonio

ANATOLY MEDVEDENKO

"You want to know why I chose 'Carmen' for my guest performances in Moscow and Leningrad? I'll try to give you an answer..."

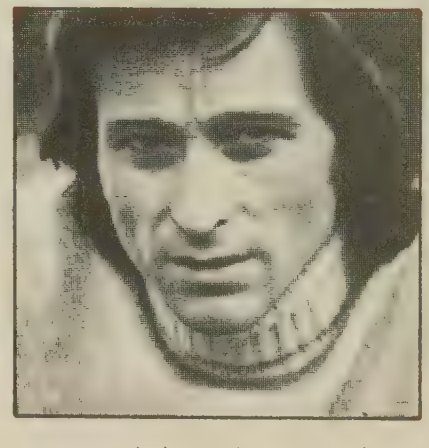
Thus began my conversation with the famous Spanish dancer and public figure Antonio Gades. It took place in Moscow, in a room in the Hotel Rossiya.

Antonio leaned back in his chair and after a brief pause began to speak.

"The fact is that lately 'Carmen' has become the leading theme in my work and is present in one way or another in much of what I do in cinematography or on the stage. The beautiful and temperamental Gypsy from a tobacco factory in Seville is a truly Spanish personality. Admittedly, some might say I am being subjective, but her incorruptibility, zeal, unyielding love of freedom, and her readiness even to sacrifice her life for it have always been typical of the Spanish. So by turning to the image of Carmen I wish to remind my fellow countrymen of these values. This is all the more important when one considers that for almost 40 years the Francoists tried to kill both love of freedom and human dignity in my people."

Antonio rose and began pacing the room. Then he sat down again.

"There is another reason I believe to be as compelling as the first," he went on. "It seemed to me unfair that Carmen had come to us from France. The famous Georges Bizet created his 'Carmen' in 1874 based on Prosper Mérimée's story of the same name. The opera quickly won international acclaim. It was produced in theatres in Russia and Sweden, France and Italy, the United States and Japan, Britain and Argentina. On August 2, 1881, 'Carmen' was produced for the first time in Spain, in the Liceo theatre in Barcelona. Then came the premiere in Madrid as well. But both in Barcelona and Madrid it was performed not in Spanish but in Italian or French. Still worse, throughout the entire hundred years since the opera was first produced in Spain Carmen has



never sung in her native tongue. It was necessary to return Carmen to Spain. So late in 1980 a group of enthusiasts headed by the well-known Spanish director José Tamayo decided to stage the opera in a typically Spanish style and in the Spanish language. The writer and poet Fernando Quiñones specially translated the libretto from French into Spanish. The authors made the production conform as closely as possible to the period described in Mérimée's story. New dances were introduced, based on the choreographical motifs and dances of Andalusia. The opera was produced in Seville, Carmen's home town, and not on the stage of a theatre but in the Real Maestranza bull ring, the very place where, according to Mérimée, the events that culminated in Carmen's tragic death occurred.

"It was this production that gave me the idea of creating a ballet version of our "Carmen." It seems to me, and I do not think I am wrong, that her character lends itself to fuller expression in dance than in opera. I should add that ballets about the fate of the Gypsy from Seville had already been performed by then in a number of countries, the Soviet Union included.

"I suggested it to my friend, the wonderful film director Carlos Saura. He not only backed me up but immediately suggested making a film-ballet. Thus appeared the film version of 'Carmen' which was a great success in many countries. But work on a ballet version of 'Carmen' continued. With Saura we produced a ballet. I don't think it should be compared with the film. True, Carmen and Bizet's music form the basis of both the film-ballet and our production. But the character of the heroine is of course revealed in different ways according to the demands of these two different art forms. For those who had seen the film, said the famous Spanish critic José Rubio, watching the ballet was like seeing the other side of the Moon. In our ballet we try to convey to the audience the tragic essence of what is happening by means of the Spanish folk dance, the flamenco, on which the entire choreography is based."

Antonio Gades spoke quickly, almost without pausing, gesticulating constantly and displaying a typically Spanish temperament. During the conversation he leapt to his feet time and again and even tried to show some of the dances in order to illustrate a point. I was amazed by his passion and conviction. But of course his art has won him the right to his conviction. The standard of his skill is illustrated, amongst other things, by the numerous international awards he has won over the years. Among them are a gold medal with which he was presented in New York, a prize for the best production which he won in Buenos Aires and a prize awarded to him by critics in Paris for the best production.

His work in cinematography has won praise as well. Besides "Carmen" he collaborated with Carlos Saura on the film-ballet "Blood Wedding" after Federico Garcia Lorca's tragedy, and this year at the Cannes International Festival he showed his film "Amor Brujo" based on a ballet by the outstanding Spanish composer Manuel de Falla. "Blood Wedding," "Carmen" and "Amor Brujo" formed a film trilogy united by a common theme, tragic love. And in each of these films Antonio Gades is not only a choreographer but also plays one of the lead roles. In addition to all this, Gades has staged Ravel's "Boléro" at the Opera Theatre in Rome, and also performed at the famous La Scala in Milan not only as a soloist but also as the producer of the ballet "Amor Brujo" to de Falla's music.

A Difficult Life

A study of his achievements could give one the impression that Antonio Gades' life has been happy. Certainly

A scene from the ballet "Carmen" with Antonio Gades as José and Christina Oios as Carmen.

Photo by A. Ratnikov

success has not eluded him; but his life has had far more thorns than roses in it. He has had to pass through many trials before taking his place in society and in art. To an astonishing degree his life reflects the life of Spain, which was for many decades under the yoke of Franco's dictatorship.

Antonio Gades (his real name is Antonio Ęsteva Rodenaz) was born in 1937 in Andalusia, in a small town near Cadiz (hence his stage name Gades, which can be translated as "a man from Cadiz"). His mother was a dressmaker and his father a builder, and a Communist. But Antonio hardly knew him. The civil war was raging in Spain at the time of his birth and his father left to defend the republic from the earliest days of Franco's insurgency. In the ranks of the October Battalion he fought at the walls of Madrid, was badly wounded and taken prisoner. This was followed by several years in prison. The torture to which he was subjected took its toll—he became gravely ill and died soon after his release from prison.

Young Antonio was eleven at the time. He had to leave school and a life full of privations began. In order to help his mother Antonio tried his hand at a multitude of jobs. He was not work-shy. It was simply that on learning that he was the son of a Republican, and a Communist to boot, employers would promptly dismiss him. For a number of years Antonio was a builder, then worked in a vegetable store, a garage and a printshop. He has also been a photographer's assistant, a messenger boy, a binder and newspaper seller.

In short, life was hard but there was still time for some simple recreation. Youngsters in the outskirts of Madrid, where Antonio lived, would gather after work in the street. They would sing and dance. Antonio danced with abandon. All Spaniards, especially the Andalusians, are born dancers, while love for the flamenco is absorbed with their mothers' milk.

Antonio danced well. In fact so well that a professional dancer, who chanced to pass by, offered him a place in a dance troupe in a cabaret. Antonio agreed immediately. But in doing so his thoughts were not so much about art as about the chance of earning money, the more so that at the time he was again unemployed. Later he would say: "I am a dancer by necessity and not by calling."

But here Antonio was wrong. He revealed such great talent that dancing became his calling.

I have already listed his successes. As to his failures, to be more correct—difficulties, in more than thirty years on the stage Gades has had no fewer of them than any other performer of "lowly" origins in a capitalist country. And if, in spite of everything, he has asserted himself as an artist in a class of his own, this is due in the first place not to luck but to titanic work, dedication, and, of course, talent.

1972. First guest performances in the Soviet Union. His meeting with a Soviet audience took place in the packed Palace of Sport in Luzhniki. Antonio performed his matchless zapateado. The zapateado (from the Spanish "zapato"—"shoe") is like a tap dance. First there comes the unhurried click-click of the heels, reminding one of a train that is just beginning to pick up speed. Then the speed increases as well as the tapping of the heels. Faster and faster. You get the impression that the dancer is rushing into the distance.

This number only lasts a few minutes. The crowd explodes in applause. Antonio goes into the wings drenched in sweat. An assistant awaits him with a towel. The hall continues to thunder with applause and demands for an encore. And again he treats the public to a fiery zapateado.

Three years later, at the peak of his career, and the height of international fame, Antonio suddenly left the stage. At the time he thought it was forever. The reason—the execution by the Francoists of five Spanish patriots. His decision was an act of protest against Franco's brutality, an act of condemnation of the cruel regime and an act of solidarity with fighters for democracy. The same year Antonio left his country and settled in Cuba.

"Dancing Is My Weapon"

It is difficult to say how long Gades would have remained in self-imposed retirement had it not been for his meeting with the famous Cuban ballerina Alicia Alonso. She persuaded him to return to the stage. "Every revolutionary has his own weapon in the struggle against imperialism," Alicia Alonso told him. "And your weapon is dancing!" So Antonio returned to the stage. At first he danced in Cuba and then went on foreign tours.

Francisco Franco, the oldest dictator in Europe, died on the night of November 19, 1975, in Pardo, his country residence. A new period began in Spain, that of the restoration of bourgeois democratic freedoms. Those who for decades had been forbidden by the Caudillo to live in their native country began to return: the glorious daughter of the Spanish people, La Pasionaria, Dolores Ibarruri, the outstanding poet Rafael Alberti, and other people prominent in literature and the arts. Among them was Antonio Gades.

On returning to Spain in 1978, he formed the Spanish National Ballet. Alicia Alonso's credo—"Every revolutionary has his own weapon in the struggle against imperialism"—also became Antonio's.

Franco's rule had had catastrophic consequences not only for the Spanish economy and the political and social spheres, but also for the national culture. The Francoists had tried to expunge everything that did not conform to Falangist ideology or serve the purpose of consolidating Franco's regime.

Nothing that was talented and progressive in literature, cinematography and the theatre served these aims. So it was forbidden even to mention the names of Pablo Picasso and Pablo Casals, Federico Garcia Lorca and Juan Ramon Jimenez. Works by Lope de Vega and Calderon vanished from the repertoires of theatres. Francoists were suspicious even of the great Cervantes. Through the lips of one of their ideologues, Ernesto Jimenez Caballero, they declared Cervantes a "forerunner of communism" and demanded the "banishment" of "Don Quixote" as undermining belief in "Spain, God and Caesar."

Characterizing the cinematography of the period the well-known Spanish director Juan Antonio Bardem said that it was politically toothless, socially false, intellectually weak, aesthetically petty and economically enfeebled. The same could also be said of ballet, both of the classical and traditional dance.

On returning to Spain, Gades tried to revive the tradition of the flamenco, the national Spanish dance. Not the stylized flamenco that is shown to tourists but the truly folk dance. He studied all the folk dances of Spain and gradually introduced elements from them into his performances. Along with other democratically-minded artists Gades struggled for the adoption in Spain of a purposeful cultural policy aimed at giving the people access to culture.

This work is only beginning and the troupe headed by Gades is making a considerable contribution. This is not a purely commercial private troupe, of which there are many in Spain, but a collective. Each member shoulders a double or even triple load: they serve as both actors and stevedores, stage hands and sometimes as ticket vendors. But the most important thing is that they all are united by one idea: to educate people by their art in a spirit of humanism, goodness and hatred of fascism.

And Antonio Gades also sees this as his task as a member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist People's Party which is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In the Central Committee he is responsible for cultural work. "Our task," he told me, "is to bring culture to workers, to the factories and plants. Culture, if it is of a class nature, can and must be a mighty force in the struggle against the capitalists."

Antonio Esteve Rodenas will soon be 50. A critical age for a dancer, one might think. But Antonio is still as lithe and graceful as a youth and his movements have not lost any of their virtuosity. "Will I continue to dance?" Antonio looked at me. "When I do not dance for several days—it happens that there are no performances or rehearsals—I feel as if I have not spoken to anyone for ages and desperately need human company to talk myself out. Dancing gives me the sense of being really totally relaxed and free." ■

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

FRANZ VRANITZKY

On June 16, as a result of a cabinet reshuffle following presidential elections, Franz Vranitzky, who until then held the post of Minister of Finance, was appointed Federal Chancellor of Austria. He was born on October 4, 1937 in Vienna. He has a higher education in economics. In 1960 he graduated from the Vienna Institute of World Trade.

Franz Vranitzky was active in the Socialist Student Union and is a member of the ruling Socialist Party of Austria. After working for a short time in the financial department of the Siemens-Schuckert concern he took a position in 1961 with the economic department of the Austrian National Bank. In 1969 he received a doctorate in economics and soon became a consultant on economic and financial questions at the Ministry of Finance. In 1976 he was promoted to the post of assistant director-general of the big Austrian bank Kredit-Anstalt. In February 1981 he became assistant director-general and three months later director-general of the Austrian Länderbank. In September 1984 he was appointed Minister of Finance.

In a government statement on June 18, Franz Vranitzky declared for the continuity of Austria's foreign policy course in conformity with its status of permanent neutrality and the State Treaty of 1955 reestablishing an independent and democratic Austria. He stressed the importance of the Vienna meeting this autumn of the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which, in his opinion, should mark the beginning of a new phase in the relaxation of international tension on the continent.

Franz Vranitzky has visited the Soviet Union several times and has declared for maintaining and developing Soviet-Austrian relations.

He is married and has two children.

TAKING UP A POINT

Formerly we used to hear and read quite a lot about the "irreconcilable" and "increasingly acute" contradictions within the imperialist camp. We hear them mentioned to this day, although one has the impression that now the imperialist powers are, as a rule, putting up a united front on such serious issues as the arms race, the situation in the Third World, and terrorism. Has anything changed in this respect?

Andrei KRAVCHENKO
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Our Associate Editor VICTOR TSOPPI replies:

Time passes quickly bringing much that is new, and inside the imperialist system too we see changes occurring at new levels. Still, that process of evolution does not in any way resolve the contradictions inherent in imperialism.

Of course, if one goes no further than merely reporting the protocol of meetings between Western leaders, one may perhaps feel that they are on good terms. However, the ritual cannot conceal the acute differences that exist between them.

Take some of the more recent episodes. After Paris refused to allow U.S. planes flying towards Libya to cross French airspace a virulent anti-French campaign was engineered in the U.S. In part, it kept to the level of slapstick. The anchorman of a popular TV programme slammed a custard pie in the face of an actor playing the role of a Frenchman bewildered as to why the Yankees are so furious with his country when only the other day they had been such close friends.

Then there was the "custard pie" that Washington threw in the faces of all its allies at once. I mean President Reagan's truly irresponsible decision to reject SALT-2. The U.S. allies, some angrily and loudly, others in a polite whisper, condemned this decision, immediately realizing how pregnant it is with perilous consequences, as it can only serve to escalate the nuclear arms race. So U.S. newsmen asked Assistant Defence Secretary Richard N. Perle, one of the Reagan Administration's most hawkish fomenters of international tension: "Regardless of the merits or the demerits, why do it (abandon SALT-2) the way you did it? Or why get the allies all atwitter and people at home concerned? Why not be more clever about it?" Richard Perle admitted: "Well, I don't know what you have in mind as a cleverer way of doing it." "As for the Europeans," he added, "there was no way to make this decision palatable to the Europeans, but there is a way to make it more intelligible to the Europeans, and that is by rather more detailed discussion than we've had until now." In other words, the U.S. couldn't care less for European interests, provided what it did suited its own interests. If they didn't like it, if they didn't find it palatable, if they were all atwitter, it could all be discussed later.

Such are the politics the U.S. practises with respect to its allies; there is the line of demarcation where those irreconcilable contradictions clash. Claude Julien, the thoughtful French political scientist who runs the highly respected monthly Le Monde Diplomatique, notes: "Is there any need, at the risk of incurring anger, to recall that an alliance is based on respect for the sovereignty of all its members? For a long time this has hardly featured in official speeches." Why so? Because "in practice things are otherwise. Washington has long been merely informing its allies, not consulting them." Let me add that Washington increasingly "forgets" even to inform.

As for sovereignty, Washington has its own ideas. Voluntarily to sacrifice the sovereignty of one equal partner to promote the vital interests of the more equal partner is good. As was the case with the sovereignty of Britain and its people when Margaret Thatcher's government allowed U.S. planes to take off from English soil to bomb Libyan cities. Or take the case of the sovereignty of the F.R.G. whose government has so meekly agreed to have U.S. missiles deployed on its territory.

From time to time one hears in the pathetic pro-NATO speeches of the leaders of the states in that "community of like values," as NATO is sometimes termed, a nostalgic hankering for real equality. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl let slip the other day a half-hearted admission when he observed that after Washington's rejection of SALT-2 there was "concern as to the state of relationships between the U.S. and Europe, the relationships inside NATO and the relationships between the U.S. and the F.R.G." But in order to be correctly understood across the Atlantic he added: "That union of free nations, which is NATO, is not always convenient. In such an alliance you have natural divergencies of opinion and interest between partners and also discussions on that account." The Chancellor's view as to the possibility of discussions within NATO dovetails completely with Richard Perle's "we'll discuss it later" formula. The West German head of government's original allegation about "the Soviet Union's global claims to political supremacy" likewise coincides absolutely with the White House's fixation.

Mere mimicking is poles apart from independent political thinking. This humiliating parrotting looks like a pledge to be faithful to the common cause. But there is less and less of that common cause. Hostility is increasing, and the conflict of interests is becoming deeper. "Even mistrust of the Soviet Union on both sides of the Atlantic," Claude Julien summarizes, "can in no way offset the serious differences."

If the "mistrust" and anti-Sovietism so zealously fostered by professional anti-Sovieteers does not pay off and fails to cement the alliance, and if, without asking the permission of Big Brother, who is indoctrinating his junior brothers in the spirit of anti-Sovietism, they remember their sovereignty, and enter into a dialogue with the Soviet Union, taking closer stock of the Soviet position, then times really have changed; but not altogether in a way that serves to paper over the contradictions within the imperialist camp. ■

Home with Honour

ANDREI STAROSTIN
Merited Master of Sport of the U.S.S.R.

This year Mexico hosted the world soccer championship for the second time. But, whereas in 1970 there were 16 national teams in the final round, this time, there were 24 — as at the last championship in Spain in 1982. They were divided into six tentative groups, with two or three teams from each reaching the semi-quarter finals.

From my point of view, this arrangement took some of the suspense out of the initial phase. No team feared a draw, which is why there were so many at the beginning. Indeed, despite one defeat and two draws each, the Uruguayan and Bulgarian teams made it to the semi-quarter finals.

However, we now know which team has won the 13th world soccer championship. For the second time the champion is Argentina. One is bound to say that the final, played out before a tremendously excited 100,000-strong crowd, was tense and dramatic. The fact that they were so near to home was a great incentive for this South American team, the more so as some 20,000 Argentinian fans had travelled to Mexico to support them and between 80 and 90 per cent of the spectators on the grandstands cheered on Maradona's eleven. It was not this, however, that decided the outcome.

By the time this journal reaches the reader, so much will have been written about the final that there will be little point in my giving a blow-by-blow account. I will only say that the contest will be remembered as a climax worthy of this magnificent game so popular around the world.

Generally speaking, the standard of play is evening out everywhere. I have been at all world championships in which the Soviet team took part from its maiden game in Sweden on. Then one was astounded by the Brazilian team with such outstanding players as Pele, Didi, Garrincha and Santos. Gradually world soccer produced ever more great names. While South American soccer continued to dominate, European soccer also made strides, as did footballers in Africa and Asia.

On the eve of this latest, 13th, world championship a good half of the entrants in the final round had, in the view of the experts, reasonable chances of winning the cup. Serious contenders included not only Argentina and West Germany but also Brazil, Britain, Italy, Uruguay, Spain, France, Belgium, Hungary, Denmark, Poland and the U.S.S.R.

Though in itself the stronger competition is a good thing it only means something when the leading teams continue to play well. One is forever hearing the old question, when was football played better, now or formerly? There is really no answer as there are no completely accurate yardsticks to enable one to make an objective comparison. One can only note the prevailing trends.

So what were the striking features of the game at this 1986 world championship? As I see it, there has been a distinct advance in technique and speed. Since the Spanish championship four years ago, football has been tending toward greater speed, faster passes, and generally quicker thinking and action, and this was in evidence in Mexico.

Diego Maradona, captain of the Argentine team, with the Gold Cup.

AP-TASS photo

The French team was penalized for its slowness in the semifinals against the West Germans. The latter gave a more even performance and won the match.

There is no need to stress that while technique is the substance, it is speed that leads to a better game. Take our footballers. There is still considerable room for improvement in their technique.

Much has been said about Maradona's misconduct by which is meant the goal he put in the British net with a sly movement of the hand. Though he is a superlative player, he should be censured for it as he is, after all, the idol of millions of young fans, and it may well be that some of them will try to copy his "technique."

The various national teams returned home, some because of incompetent refereeing, others because of tactical or strategic miscalculations on the part of their coaches. The time is yet to come for an in-depth, comprehensive analysis for each of them.

Before ending I should like to answer a question with which I am being bombarded by football fans, friends and strangers alike. They want to know how we should evaluate the performance of the Soviet team at the Mexican world championship. As a football fan of long standing I can say that they returned home with honour. Even though they didn't win any decisive victories, they did not sustain a fair loss. The game they played against the Hungarians represented the cream of soccer tradition in this country. Our national team made a showing quite equal to today's standards. However, to remain near the top of the European table, a place which foreign sports commentators say our team deserves, it is essential that they never fail to maintain their standards. This, I may add, is no simple matter. ■

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INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

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